





# The weather at major Swissair destinations

	18.12.1983	MIN	MAX	
		C	F	
AMSTERDAM	13	4	39	Clear
BRUSSELS	13	0	47	Cloudy
BUENOS AIRES	21	28	80	Cloudy
CHICAGO	18	3	47	Cloudy
COPENHAGEN	2	28	32	Cloudy
FRANKFURT	1	30	46	Cloudy
GENEVA	0	32	48	Cloudy
HELSINKI	1	30	46	Cloudy
HONG KONG	18	60	84	Clear
JERUSALEM	18	61	81	Cloudy
LONDON	8	46	55	Cloudy
MADRID	2	36	75	Rain
MONTREAL	10	14	25	Clear
NEW YORK	1	34	39	Cloudy
OSLO	7	19	37	Clear
PARIS	6	43	46	Cloudy
RIO DE JANEIRO	21	70	95	Cloudy
SAO PAULO	17	65	84	Cloudy
STOCKHOLM	1	30	46	Cloudy
TOKYO	1	34	49	Clear
TORONTO	6	21	37	Cloudy
VIENNA	1	30	46	Cloudy
ZURICH	0	32	48	Cloudy

\* For the latest weather conditions, contact Swissair.

Offices in Israel:  
Tel Aviv: 41 Ben Yehuda St. (03) 243350  
Jerusalem: 30 Jaffa St. (02) 225233  
Haifa: 2 Sea Road (04) 64855

**swissair**

## THE WEATHER

Forecast: Partly cloudy.

	Yesterday's	Yesterday's	Today's
	High	Low	High
Jerusalem	60	41	61
Golan	63	42	63
Nahariya	62	41	62
Safed	57	38	57
Haifa Port	67	41	67
Tiberias	56	37	56
Nazareth	57	38	57
Afula	66	41	66
Shomron	68	41	68
Tel Aviv	70	41	70
B-G Airport	65	41	65
Jericho	50	39	50
Gaza	64	41	64
Beer Sheva	53	41	53
Eilat	21	9	21

## Woman soldier buried

**NETANYA (Iim).** — Only Dabi, the 18-year-old murdered soldier whose body was found last Wednesday, was buried yesterday in a full military ceremony at the municipal cemetery.

Hundreds of family members, friends, soldiers and local residents, led by Mayor Yoel Elroi, took part. The commander of her unit cited Dabi's dedication and her perseverance in overcoming a disabling injury, until she was accepted into a special military course.

Netanya Rabbi Yisrael Lowe and Dabi's brother each gave a brief eulogy. Then her father, a doctor in the local hospital, said kaddish. Three volleys were fired, then Dabi, who would have been 19 next month, was laid to rest.

## Mother of Aguda head laid to rest in capital

Among those attending the funeral in Jerusalem yesterday of Hinda Shapira, mother of Agudat Yisrael chief MK Avraham Shapira, were Prime Minister Shamir, Finance Minister Cohen-Orad, Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi Avraham Shapira, and many family members and friends.

Hinda Shapira died at the age of 83. She was buried on the Mount of Olives. (Iim)

## Standard of living falls

**By AVI TEMKIN**  
Post Economic Reporter

Private consumption dropped during the second and third quarters of the year, the Central Bureau of Statistics reported yesterday.

The Bureau's figures reveal that in the April-June period, private consumption fell by 2.2 per cent compared with the first quarter of the year, and this was followed by a 1.6 per cent reduction in the standard of living in the third quarter of the year.

Taking into account seasonal factors, the drop in the levels of private consumption would translate into an annual rate of 8 to 10 per cent, a figure close to the targeted drop in the standard of living planned by Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orad. But despite this fall, private consumption in the first nine months of the year was 10 per cent above the level in the same period in 1982.

## Nature group hits IDF for wrecking sanctuary

**Jerusalem Post Staff**

The Society for the Protection of Nature has accused the Israel Defence Forces of destroying a rare natural site by carrying out construction work in Bik'at Sayarim in the Negev.

In a statement issued yesterday, the society said Bik'at Sayarim is a particularly rich preserve of desert plants and wildlife, which is being undermined by IDF road work south of the Uvda Valley near Eilat.

# HOME AND WORLD NEWS

## Early renewal of talks on Lebanon is unlikely

**By DAVID BERNSTEIN**  
Post Middle East Affairs Reporter and agencies

Prospects for an early resumption of the Lebanese national reconciliation talks in Geneva receded yesterday following a meeting in Damascus of the foreign ministers of Lebanon, Syria and Saudi Arabia.

Syrian Foreign Minister Abdul-Halim Khaddam told reporters after the meeting that he and his Saudi and Lebanese counterparts had agreed to meet early next month in Riyadh. But he declined to give a date for the resumption of the conference, pending the outcome of the talks in the Saudi capital.

He indicated that last May's agreement between Lebanon and Israel, which Syria has said must be scrapped, is still the major issue preventing an early resumption of the talks, noting that the pact is "still under discussion."

The fact that Khaddam did not reiterate Syria's demand that the agreement be abrogated, and indicated Damascus's readiness to continue discussing the controversial document might be seen as a softening of the Syrian position. There is the possibility that Syria might be prepared to accept an amendment to the pact to remove what it holds to be unacceptable political concessions to Israel.

Lebanese Foreign Minister Elias

Salem was reticent about yesterday's meeting, telling reporters only that the talks had gone "very well."

His Saudi counterpart, Prince Saud al-Faisal concurred, telling reporters that the three foreign ministers had had "very positive discussions about all aspects of the Lebanon problem with the aim of creating a good and positive environment for the next reconciliation meeting between the Lebanese."

The first round of reconciliation talks in Geneva bogged down over the Israel-Lebanese pact issue, with Syria and its proteges in the Lebanese National Salvation Front insisting that it be scrapped before any progress could be made on reconciling the differences between the country's feuding communities.

Lebanese President Amin Jemayel managed to withstand the pressure, and a compromise was reached whereby he was given a mandate to hold consultations in various Western and Arab capitals with a view to finding some way of ridding Lebanon of all foreign forces that would be acceptable to Syria.

It was made clear to Jemayel during a visit to Washington earlier this month, however, that the U.S. is standing firmly behind the agreement it had been instrumental in achieving, leaving him little hope that he would be able to accommodate Syria by bringing American pressure to bear on Israel.

## U.S. ships again shell Syrian hill positions

**BEIRUT (AP).** — Two U.S. Navy ships fired at anti-aircraft positions in the central mountains again yesterday after American reconnaissance flights came under fire, an American spokesman said.

Maj. Dennis Brooks, a spokesman for the U.S. contingent of the Multinational Peacekeeping Force here, said the guided missile cruiser Ticonderoga and destroyer Tattnell fired a total of 60 rounds from their five-inch guns at anti-aircraft positions in the mountains. He indicated the positions were in the Syrian-controlled Metn area northeast of the capital, and the barrage was in retaliation for ground fire at an American reconnaissance mission.

"The (ships) fired after F-14 air crews reported they were under attack," said Brooks. "The two aircraft were flying from the aircraft carrier Independence, and were on

a routine air reconnaissance mission at the time. They returned safely to the carrier."

A military spokesman in Damascus confirmed that Syrian anti-aircraft defenses fired at the two planes. The spokesman, quoted by the official Syrian news agency Sana, said the U.S. naval barrage in retaliation was "within the framework of the continuous acts of aggression committed by the American forces against our forces in Lebanon."

He gave no details of damage or casualties from the shelling.

The incident was the first serious violation of a cease-fire announced at midday Friday by the Lebanese army, the leftist Druse, the Shiite Muslim Amal and the rightist Christian Phalangist militias. The truce allowed Beirut International Airport to reopen after a 17-day shutdown.

## Deir al-Kamar evacuees stoned and cursed by Druse

**By MENAHEM HOROWITZ**  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

**METULLA.** — Another group of Christian evacuees from the Shouf Mountain town of Deir al-Kamar was stoned, cursed and spat upon by Druse villagers on the way to Beirut yesterday. Israel Defence Forces sources said that shots were also fired during the incident in the village of Kfar Him, but no one was hurt.

The convoy continued to Beirut. In a similar incident on Saturday, a convoy of evacuees was attacked in the village of Masr a-Shouf.

Several convoys setting out from Deir al-Kamar reached Jezzine yesterday, in Israeli-held Southern Lebanon.

Since last Thursday, some 1,700 civilians have been evacuated from the town, and an equal number of Phalangist troops. More civilians are due to be evacuated soon. But contrary to earlier reports, thousands of civilians and hundreds of Phalangists intend to remain in Deir al-Kamar. They do not wish to abandon the Christians' last stronghold in the Shouf, and some have hopes of returning from the town to smaller mountain villages which they left under Druse pressure.

On the other hand, some Christians fear that after the evacuation is completed, and the IDF ceases assuring passage on the roads of the eastern Shouf, the Druse will resume their siege of the town.

## Mubarak calmed over U.S.-Israel deal

**CAIRO (Reuters).** — U.S. Middle East envoy Donald Rumsfeld yesterday appeared to have helped allay Egyptian fears over last month's U.S.-Israeli strategic cooperation agreement.

President Hosni Mubarak told reporters after two hours of talks with Rumsfeld: "I think now, as far as I understand the real situation, I could tell you that to a certain extent it is convincing... yet we will still exchange views."

Egyptian officials said President Reagan had written twice to Mubarak about the November 29 pact, which the Egyptian leader had

earlier called a potential disaster and an obstacle to peace.

Mubarak gave no details about his talks with Rumsfeld, but Egyptian officials said the envoy had brought a detailed explanation of the pact.

Diplomats say Egypt has probably been soothed by U.S. moves to give Egypt \$1.1 billion in free military aid in the 1985 financial year beginning on October 1. Under a government decision subject to Congressional approval, Israel will receive \$1.4 b. in military grants.

## WORKERS TO GET

(Continued from Page One)

with wages for January. The employers had said that workers should not be compensated for more than 85 per cent of the price rises, but the Histadrut insisted on adherence to the July 16, 1982 C-o-L allowance agreement. That agreement said that if prices rise by more than 30 per cent since the preceding three months, compensation should be for 90 per cent of the price rises.

Uzi Netanel, the head of the private employers team, told *The Jerusalem Post* the demand for an amendment was dropped because of the threats of labour unrest and because the C-o-L index for

November somewhat allayed fears that the inflation would eventually total 30 per cent. The fears had been raised when October's C-o-L index rose by 21.1 per cent but last month it was 15.2 per cent, as had been anticipated.

The breakthrough was achieved in a telephone conversation on Saturday night between Netanel and Kessar, and by yesterday afternoon when the two met, many details of the agreement were ready for signature.

Treasury Director-General Ezra Sadeh later joined the talks and in the evening signed a letter which said that Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orad had asked him to announce that the minister will see to it that income-tax brackets, tax-credit points and children's allowances will be updated.

Welcome to Israel  
Douglas Okun  
Wife, Cheryl  
and Baby Daughter Miriam  
and all the members of the UJA  
Mission from Boston  
From the Captain Yehiel and Ruth  
Glovsky Langer Hospitality Founda-  
tion, 1 Mapu St., Jerusalem



Histadrut Secretary-General Yeroham Meshel addresses a protest meeting yesterday at the Telkoor plant in Petah Tikva.

## Histadrut keeps up pressure on wage talks

**Jerusalem Post Reporter**

**PETAH TIKVA.** — A few hundred workers yesterday gathered on the roof of the Telkoor plant here in one of 200 protest meetings the Histadrut held throughout the country over the state of the economy. They heard a nine-minute address by Yeroham Meshel, Secretary-General of the Labour Federation.

"I have come to tell you what bothers workers and the Histadrut," Meshel began, citing October's price rises, which he charged more than wiped out the latest increase in the cost of living increment. "That wasn't an act of God. It was man's doing," he said, referring to the government.

"There are some \$5 billion of black capital in the market and he said he will tackle it," Meshel continued, alluding to Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orad. "There are also some people who got rich quickly. He said he will take care of them, too."

But nothing has been done and only the workers are suffering the brunt of the economic situation, Meshel charged. "In the meantime, prices go up daily," he noted.

Most of the listeners were young and the silver-haired Meshel said their families are "in the worst situation." He said 45 per cent of some workers' incomes goes to repay mortgages. Young mothers quit jobs to take care of their first babies — and Cohen-Orad wants

to tax the allowance for the first two children. "Well, he found the rich people," Meshel said sarcastically.

"We demand the government stop sticking its hands incessantly into workers' pockets," he stressed.

Meshel noted that Cohen-Orad's amicable conduct has created a different atmosphere from that of his predecessors Yigal Muvitz and Yoram Aridor. "He (Cohen-Orad) smiles at us. But I've told him several times that you can't pay in the grocery store with smiles," he said.

Meshel ended his talk by appealing for the workers' support even in case of a strike. The workers applauded politely.

## Nation's schools to open hour late tomorrow

**By LEA LEVAVI**  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

**TEL AVIV.** — Classes at most schools will begin at 9 a.m. tomorrow instead of at 8 a.m. The Histadrut Teachers Union yesterday decided to hold this one-hour strike in protest against the Ministry of Education's instructions not to hire substitute teachers for the first three days of a regular teacher's absence.

Last week, the ministry suggested that women soldiers, students at

teachers' colleges and volunteers take the place of absent teachers. The Secondary School Teachers Association reluctantly accepted the idea, but the Histadrut Teachers Union wanted a week to examine it.

Yesterday, Amnon Abramson, secretary-general of the union, announced that the idea was not feasible and could jeopardize children's safety. The union will therefore fight for the return of paid substitute teachers, he said.

Tomorrow's strike will include

kindergartens, elementary schools, junior high schools, teachers' colleges and those high schools where the teachers belong to the Histadrut Teachers Union.

On Wednesday, a large delegation of teachers from the Histadrut Teachers Union is to meet Prime Minister Shamir, who is replacing Education Minister Zevulun Hammer while he recuperates from a heart attack, to explain the seriousness of the substitute teacher problem and to ask his support.

## Giscard to meet Herzog, Shamir on visit

**Jerusalem Post Reporter**

Former French president Valery Giscard d'Estaing is to come here next week for a one-week private visit as a guest of Jean Frydman, a prominent media executive in France.

The former French president will spend New Year's Eve in Israel and will stay a good part of the time at Frydman's new house in Sayvon. He will also meet with President Chaim Herzog, Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, Labour Party chairman Shimon Peres and Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek.

Frydman became friendly with Giscard during the 1981 elections in France in which Giscard was defeated

by Francois Mitterrand. Three months after the elections, Giscard and his family were the guests of the Frydmans at their Alberta, Canada, ranch, where the house rule is that there are no servants and that everyone does his share of the cooking and cleaning. The former French president spent some three weeks at the ranch to get away from it all and is reported to have loved the "rough going."

During the months preceding the 1981 elections in Israel, Frydman was one of the main backers of the campaign by Labour Party friends abroad, supporting Peres for the leadership of the party, and the 1981 elections in France in which Giscard was defeated

premiiership.

(Continued from Page One)

ble before the Knesset for the policies and actions of the Lands Authority chief.

Five other ministers remained unconvinced and voted against Shamir's ouster. Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir sided with the majority.

Grupper's and Meir Shamir's opposing contentions were presented to the cabinet by Justice Minister Moshe Nissim (Likud-Liberals). At a previous session, upon the insistent urging of the attorney-general, the cabinet took the unusual step of instructing Nissim to "hear both sides" and report back before the cabinet took its decision.

Sharon, who originally appointed Shamir to replace another highly regarded Lands Administration head, Ya'acov Akin, defended Meir Shamir vigorously yesterday.

Labour and Social Affairs Minister Aharon Uzan, who worked with Shamir for many years, also fought doggedly to prevent his ouster. Science and Development Minister Yuval Ne'eman, whose Tehiya settlers feel that Shamir's replacement will not serve them as

## CABINET & SACKINGS

well, likewise criticised Grupper's dismissal move.

All the Liberal party ministers backed Gruper, as well as some from Herut.

Zamir explained that the dismissal of a senior official on grounds of incompatibility must be seen as a delicate and potentially dangerous precedent, because it can be construed as infringing on the principle of civil service independence.

Zamir distinguished between directors-general of government ministries, who in Israel traditionally serve at the pleasure of their ministers, and other officials.

On the other hand, the attorney-general said, a minister's contention that he must have a good working relationship with a key official, for whose actions he is responsible, is also weighty and persuasive.

Having persuaded the cabinet to apply the equal hearing principle in Shamir's case, Zamir will almost certainly urge that it be applied too in the case of Haguel — if the cabinet agrees to discuss Moda'i's dismissal demand at all.

Moda'i presented his position yesterday, taking a side-swipe at Zamir in the process for having "raised objections at the last moment... One can't work like that," Moda'i reportedly said.

The attorney-general is to address himself to the issue next week, and there is some speculation that he will rule Moda'i out of order. The Electric Corporation is not an agency of the Energy Ministry, but a separate (albeit government-owned) company, with its own board of directors. Moda'i's attempt to have the cabinet remove Haguel might be seen as an effort to circumvent the board — and therefore legally questionable.

Moda'i blames Haguel for having granted fringe benefits to Corporation officials without obtaining his approval. Moda'i told the cabinet that Haguel thus violated his trust. Although the fringe benefits went counter to policy, Moda'i said he would bear responsibility for Haguel's action as the responsible minister. However, Moda'i said, the episode showed he could not work with Haguel.

## Dockers add citrus to slowdown

**By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER**  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

**HAIFA.** — Ashdod and Haifa harbours were fast approaching chaos yesterday, as the stevedores once again stopped loading citrus for and other produce at full speed.

The stevedores were giving another turn of the screw to the campaign against the Port Authority for higher wage. Negotiations meanwhile continued all day in Tel Aviv with the mediation of the Histadrut.

For one week, the stevedores have given citrus and other farm exports an "exemption" from their going now into its fourth week, as gesture to the Authority and placate irate farmers.

In Haifa the stevedores load only 30,000 cases of citrus a year, each gang doing a single gang which amounts to a quarter of the capacity.

A survey of the ports has shown that nearly 5,000 containers of ports, worth millions of dollars, being held up, the director of Shippers Council, Arye Mehou told *The Jerusalem Post*.

He said that December, usually one of the best export months, shaping up to be a disaster as result of the strike. In addition the immediate losses, the export also feared for their markets.

Mehou said that the container terminal in Limassol, Cyprus, also been congested by the containers with imports on the way to Israel, which had been dumped by Israeli and foreign ships not wishing to be delayed by strike here.

Importers and exporters fear if the strike is not settled soon, shipowners will slap heavy delay surcharges on the Haifa Ashdod ports, which will cost owners millions of shekels.

## Two soldiers wounded by grenade in Sidon

**By MENAHEM HOROWITZ**  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

**METULLA.** — Two soldiers injured yesterday when a grenade was thrown at an IDF convoy in Sidon. A local resident killed in the explosion, and the damage to several stores.

IDF forces cordoned off the area and conducted searches. A grenade also was thrown at a convoy over the weekend. A local resident was injured.

Sidon has been the scene of numerous attacks on the IDF. Security sources believe the two terrorist cells are responsible.

A number of ministers told *The Jerusalem Post* that Moda'i have had other grounds for firing Haguel, which Moda'i did not divulge. They said it was conceivable that Haguel did not ing up the fringe benefits in meetings with Moda'i.

One minister told *The Post*: "Two men have been working together for a long time and agreements must have developed long ago. For some reason I came to a head a short while ago."

Grupper and Meir Shamir did clash over facts, but personality. The energy minister said yesterday his own departmental legal adviser had held he was fully entitled to engineer Haguel's ouster means of a cabinet decision.

David Rudge adds: The board of directors of Electric Corporation yesterday led on the government to allow debate the energy minister proposal to dismiss Haguel before is discussed by the cabinet. In the meantime, Haguel has led for the establishment of a committee to investigate "the decision making process" in the Eni Ministry.

## FRENCH NAVY

(Continued from Page One)

being vague. I want to be."

One minister told *The Jerusalem Post* last night that when an assurance in Paris by Deputy Premier David Levy that the Greek ships would not be attacked was mentioned in the cabinet meeting, Prime Minister Shamir said: "It is important that every minister restrict his pronouncements to matters within the direct purview of his ministry."

In an interview with Austrian Television yesterday, Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir said Israel's action against the PLO in Tripoli had nothing to do with the evacuation of the terrorists, but was a continuation of the struggle against the PLO.

"Israel has not undertaken anything against the evacuation," he said. "We are fighting against the PLO because the PLO is our most extreme enemy."

The Rotary Club of Jerusalem  
mourns the death of

**Ambassador JACOB DORON**

Rotary past president and secretary

and conveys condolences to the bereaved family.

To Judith Rosental

We share your deep grief on the passing of your dear

**Mother**

Physiotherapy Staff  
Assaf Harofa Hospital

To Lucy and her mother, Lili

Sincere condolences on the passing of your father

**ARMAND BAR-DAVID**  
on December 17, 1983.

From your friends at FBIS

On the first anniversary of the death of our beloved

**Judge**

**SHALOM KASSAN**

there will be a graveside memorial service at the Mount of Olives Cemetery, Jerusalem, tomorrow, Tuesday, December 20, 1983 at 3 p.m.

The Family

**EMUNAH**  
World Religious Zionist Women's Organization  
extends sincere condolences to

**EDITH ROTHSCHILD**  
and the entire family,  
upon the passing of her brother.

**KURT YOSEF HERTZ**

In deep sorrow we announce the passing of

**ABE NURICK**

The funeral will be held today, Monday, December 19, 1983 at 1 p.m. at the Herzliya cemetery.

We will meet at the cemetery entrance.

The Family

Shiva will be held at the home of Jackie Nurick, 6 Smuts St., Tel Aviv.

**MAZAL TOV**  
to our dear parents



# HOME NEWS

## Banks plan monthly fee on cheque accounts

**By MACABEE DEAN**  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Commercial banks are planning January 1 to start charging interest every month — and not every three months as at present — on cheque accounts. The change, one many planned by the banks, needs the approval of the Bank of Israel.

The spokesman for one bank noted yesterday, "we are not increasing our fees, as has been alleged; we are simply adjusting them to changing financial situation in the country. Compared to foreign banks, our new rates (if approved) will still be cheap." He noted that National Westminster Bank in London charged the equivalent of IS43.

Commercial banks, which now charge IS4.80 each cheque, plan to raise it to IS10. "Thus, new rate will still be one-fourth of the cash rate," he said.

However, this is only for cheques drawn on the account. If the cheque creates an overdraft, the fee will be IS25 in January, as compared to IS11.80 today. But the fees will be smaller, perhaps half in both cases, if an automatic teller machine is used. No fee is planned for withdrawing cash from these machines.

The interest rate on overdrafts will probably be 12 per cent a month, and it will be deducted at the end of every month. At present, fees for overdrafts are deducted at the end of every three-month period.

Those persons whose monthly wages and salaries are deposited automatically (through a computer) will also be allowed smaller overdrafts. At present, any overdraft up to IS8,000 is charged about 10 per cent (on a monthly basis); in the future the interest rate will be 12 per cent up to this amount.

However, if at present a person whose pay is deposited automatically could take a "non-authorized" overdraft from this IS8,000 to his full salary, paying about 14 per cent interest a month, in the future, his "non-authorized" overdraft will be from IS8,000 to half his salary, and the interest rate will be 15.5 per cent.

On January 1, the commercial banks also plan to raise the interest rates that they pay customers on short-term deposits (of two or three weeks) to about 10.5 per cent, which is about 2 per cent more than they pay today.

"In the future, it seems likely that the interest

rates will be changed every month, in line with changing conditions," one official said, noting that the fees for various transactions will probably continue to be reviewed every three months.

"At present, we are charging 'negative' interest rates on authorized overdrafts — and even on unauthorized overdrafts. After all, the index rose by 21.1 per cent in October and by 15.2 per cent in November."

Other fees proposed are charging IS100 for each telephone, water, municipal rates, etc. paid at the counter. At present, this service is free, and it will continue to be free if clients agree to have them paid through standing orders.

Every time a share or bond on the stock market is bought, the customers will be charged IS500 (IS100 at present) plus a percentage of the value of the transaction, which ranges from 1 per cent to small sums down to half a per cent to large ones.

Safe-deposit boxes will also cost more. The annual fee for a small one will probably be raised from IS3,000 to IS4,200, and for a large one from IS7,500 to IS10,000.

## 'trapped' consulting engineers want their fees linked to CPI

**By AARON SITTNER**  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Most of the country's construction-engineering firms face closure as the government, public institutions and building contractors linking their accounts payable to the Consumer Price Index.

A telegram to Finance Minister Yoram Yaski, chairman of the Association of Engineers and Architects, and Eldad Bookspan, chairman of the association's independent members, warn that 8,000 or more persons will be thrown out of work if the engineering firms shut down.

In their telegram, the engineers complain of having become "trapped in an impossible situation."

On one hand, they say, they are "locked into" long-term contracts with the government and other large users of their services. On the other hand, these customers pay their bills 60 days or more after our work is completed — at the original prices quoted, with no linkage or interest.

"As a result, we are financing the government's projects for which we sell our services, at the rate of 50 per cent of the price, when you take into account the interest that would have accrued on those late payments, and the compound interest."

As for the private building sector, the engineers say the slowdown in the building industry is also hurting them since their fees are linked to the builders' sales contracts.

The private builders — through their Federation of Contractors and Builders — yesterday expressed resentment at the failure of the

Treasury to reply to their request for shortening the payment periods by the government for work it orders from them, linking the payments to the price index prevailing on the date of payment and addition of "at least 15 per cent" to all outstanding contract sums, to compensate the builders for the recent 23 per cent devaluation of the shekel.

When Cohen-Orad appeared at the builders' convention on December 6, he promised them an answer "soon." By yesterday, the federation had still not received the Treasury's reply to its request.

## rug-smuggling Haifa woman despairs in Turkish prison

IFA (Ilim). — An Israeli woman in a 30-year sentence in a Turkish prison for smuggling heroin appealed for help to effect her release, saying the conditions there driving her insane.

Smadar Dalal, 29, of Haifa, who divorced and the mother of a 4-year-old girl, was sentenced to 30 years in April for smuggling 1.1 grams of heroin into the Istanbul Airport inside two cartons of rettes. Her sentence was later reduced to 30 years imprisonment.

erut Lapid, an activist in the Israeli Society for the Rehabilitation of Prisoners, last week returned to visiting Dalal in Istanbul's Pasha Prison. He described conditions as "on the verge of 12 her mind."

Lapid said he was shocked by conditions in the prison, particularly by its practice of forcing prisoners to walk on their knees. "I'd her to stand on her feet, but insisted on staying on her knees 'ar she would be beaten if she d up," said Lapid. "Get me out ere, I'm going crazy," Dalal told

him.

Lapid called on the government to establish a treaty with Turkey for exchanging prisoners, by which convicted criminals would serve out their sentences in their own countries. He said another four Israelis are being held in Turkish prisons on drug charges — three of them convicted and the fourth awaiting trial.

The fourth, Mordechai Hilwani, is to go on trial tomorrow. The prosecution is asking for a "double death sentence," said Lapid, which means there is no chance of a reduction in sentence if he is convicted.

Lapid said that, should Dalal be released, an Upper Galilee family has volunteered to take her in and "help in her rehabilitation." He said 19 former convicts have been "rehabilitated" this year in a project run by the United Kibbutz Movement. The movement accepts persons convicted of property crimes, Lapid said, but will not attempt to rehabilitate pimps, drug dealers or murderers.

## Haifa-to-Hadera drug raids nab 50 alleged pushers

**By DAVID RUDGE**  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — Fifty more suspected drug pushers were arrested in pre-dawn raids yesterday in the second major police crackdown on the local drug market in a month.

Nearly 300 police and Border Police took part in the operation which stretched from Hadera in the south to the Krayot suburbs of Haifa, and included the city itself.

The police spokeswoman said 28 "drug stations," which dealt with hashish, heroin, LSD and Adulian, were smashed. She said their annual turnover ran into millions of shekels.

It was the first time police had specifically hit the Hadera area, which is known as the "drug crossroads" of the country.

The operation resulted from several months of undercover work by drug squad detectives and cost the police force an estimated IS1.5 million.

## Nabliu killing suspect remanded for six days

TEL AVIV (Ilim). — Ephraim Siegel, suspected as an accessory in the murder of a Nabliu girl two weeks ago, was remanded yesterday for an additional six days by the district court. The remand order was given in response to an appeal by the district attorney of last week's decision by the Netanya Magistrates Court ordering Siegel's release.

During yesterday's hearing, defence attorney David Rotem repeated earlier arguments that Siegel, 27, of Elon Moreh, had not been picked out in two police identity parades and that the make and colour of the getaway car in the murder of Aisha Baash, 11, had not been conclusively identified. Siegel is suspected of driving the getaway car.

District Court Judge Avraham Malul said in handing down his decision that he was forced to choose between a preference for individual freedom or the good of the public. Since Siegel's alleged crime was being an accessory to murder, said Malul, he was impelled to order him detained. The judge also extended an order forbidding the publishing of Siegel's photograph.



## diplomat Jacob Doron dies at 70

Jacob Doron, veteran diplomat and attorney, died after a tennis game in Jerusalem's YMCA last night. Doron was recently appointed the Israeli representative at UNESCO.

Doron was born in St. Petersburg, October 24, 1914. He came to the country in 1933.

He joined Kibbutz Ein Harod worked as a stevedore in Haifa as a clerk at Shemen. In 1936 at outbreak of Arab terror, Doron joined the Jewish Settlement Police, graduated in 1942 from the state law classes and was admitted to the bar the following year.

Doron set up practice in Haifa as the city's Hagana area commander during the War of Independence. He fought with Dani in Galilee and was the judge-advocate. He returned to his private practice in 1949 and led the Foreign Affairs Ministry years later.

Doron served as consul-general in Johannesburg, and in 1963 as the ministry's legal adviser. In 1967 he was ambassador to Venezuela and other Latin American countries, and since 1971 the UN. In 1974 Doron was an representative to the Law of the Sea Conference. He also represented Israel at the UN General Assembly and other UN

organizations, including the Human Rights Commission.

In 1977 Doron as appointed ambassador to Austria and in 1979 again to the UN. He retired that year and returned to his private practice in Jerusalem.

Doron is survived by his wife, Judith Laskov-Doron, four children, Elami-Moshe, David Yitzhak, Daniel Alexander and Tamar, and six grandchildren.

The funeral will leave the Sanhedria Funeral Parlour for the Har Hamenuhot cemetery in Jerusalem at noon today. (AZ)

## Safad ultra-Orthodox angry over flats

**By MENAHEM HOROWITZ**  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

SAFAD. — Ultra-Orthodox residents here were in an uproar yesterday over reports that the Jewish Agency and the Absorption Ministry plan to settle Ethiopian Jewish families in apartment blocks in the western part of the city.

Ultra-Orthodox sources say that the apartments, constructed by Shikun Ufutaah, were promised to

them through Agudat Yisrael, but are to be given instead to some 400 Jews from Ethiopia.

The ultra-Orthodox said they would use force to prevent this.

City police and detachments of Border Police are standing by.

Recently, hundreds of Ethiopian Jews were settled in Kiryat Shmona. In spite of early fears of difficult absorption, there has been little trouble.



An ex-employee of the Imperium Casa Rosse in Amsterdam in custody yesterday after his arrest on suspicion of setting fire to the sex-and-gambling club. Thirteen people died in the blaze. (UPI telephoto)

## Nurse testifies on prison enemas

TEL AVIV (Ilim). — A man who once served as a nurse at the Ramle Prison, and who is under arrest for accepting sexual bribes, testified in district court here yesterday that he was ordered by the late warden of the prison, Roni Nitzan, to administer enemas to prisoners to find drugs. One of the prisoners to whom the nurse gave enemas was Herzl Avitan.

Avitan is on trial in district court for Nitzan's murder.

The former nurse, Rafi Royeme, is being held on suspicion of taking sexual bribes from prostitutes under detention. He testified at Avitan's trial yesterday that Nitzan had given the order to administer enemas on hundreds of prisoners returning from court appearances and home leave who intelligence sources had reason to believe might try to smuggle drugs into the prison.

Some prisoners objected to the procedure and were made to submit by force.

Replying to a question from Avitan's attorney, Royeme said he administered four enemas on Avitan, and never found drugs.

The High Court of Justice ruled recently that enemas must not be administered to prisoners against their will.

DUNES. — The Nature Protection Society has established a field school in the Nitzanim youth village to study and protect a section of the sand dunes on the coast south of Ashdod.

## Man held in Amsterdam has record here

**Jerusalem Post Reporter**

The man held in Amsterdam in connection with the arson on Friday night of a sex-and-gambling club has a police record here, but is not sought by Israeli police, it was reported yesterday.

source said Israel has relayed information about the man, identified by Israel Radio as 36-year-old Yosef Lan, to Dutch authorities. A spokesman refused to divulge further details.

Thirteen people were killed and 20 injured in the fire.

## New demolition order due for Old City yeshiva

**By MICHAEL EILAN**  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The Jerusalem municipality plans to issue another demolition order today against illegal building in the Birkat Avraham Yeshiva in the Old City.

The District Court yesterday ruled an existing demolition order invalid due to a technicality. The court accepted an appeal by the yeshiva's lawyers against an administrative city demolition order, but termed its own ruling a "Pyrrhic victory" for the yeshiva.

Jerusalem City Hall spokesman Rafi Davara said last night that the city plans to appeal the District Court ruling before the Supreme Court. But at the same time, he said, the court itself said that the municipality would be fully within its rights to issue another demolition order. This order will be issued today.

An Ilim report by Shmuel Mitelman said the three-judge panel of the District Court allowed the ap-

peal by the yeshiva because of lacunae in the demolition order which was passed on the yeshiva's walls on November 11. An engineer's report attached to the demolition order described the location of the illegally-built room on the third floor of the yeshiva, but did not describe the room itself, the court said.

Another fault in the municipal paper-work was found in discrepancies between a municipal court injunction ordering the yeshiva to stop work on the room. This order, given on November 29, said the new room was 30 square metres. The demolition order two weeks later said, correctly, that the new room was roughly 15 square metres.

The court did not accept arguments by the yeshiva's lawyers that the municipality's declared intention to move the Birkat Avraham Yeshiva out of the Moslem quarter of the Old City constituted prejudice against the yeshiva's new room.

Mayor Teddy Kollek has declared on many occasions that he wants Birkat Avraham out of the Moslem Quarter. There have been several riots in the neighbourhood which city hall and police have said were started by yeshiva students.

The head of the Atara Leyoshan Association, which owns the building on key money and rents it to the yeshiva, gave an affidavit to the court in which he said that Abraham Dwek, patron of Birkat Avraham, had moved into the building and built the illegal room without its agreement.

Also present in court was Gerson Salomon, of the Faithful of the Temple Mount Association, who said he plans to form an association to encourage Jewish settlement in the Moslem Quarter.

PICKPOCKETS. — Two men and a woman, all tourists from Colombia, were arrested on Friday in Ramat Gan on suspicion of picking pockets in bus queues.

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### DON'T BE FUELISH Conserve energy.

## Police hit IRA haunts in Harrods bomb probe

LONDON. — Police checked for evidence in the shattered glass and wood of Harrods department store yesterday and were reported raiding haunts of Irish Republican sympathizers in the investigation of the bombing that killed five people and wounded 91.

Police and government officials blamed the Irish Republican Army for the car-bombing Saturday afternoon, when the store was crowded with Christmas shoppers.

But the IRA issued no claim of responsibility through its usual channels.

Twenty-two of the 91 wounded people remained in hospitals yesterday.

Four police officers were in serious condition, Scotland Yard said, because they were in or near a police patrol car that absorbed the brunt of the blast.

Harrods chairman Aleck Craddock said police were still checking for evidence and part of the store was blocked off, but he thought the store would be open for "85 per cent" of business tomorrow (Monday).

Craddock said it was lucky the store had not been evacuated when the warning of a bomb came in shortly before the explosion on the street outside.

"If we had evacuated the store,

we would have sent staff and customers immediately to where the car bomb was," he said.

Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who described the bombing as a "crime against humanity" and a crime against Christmas, said her government would not change its Northern Ireland policy.

Meanwhile, an estimated 2,000 Irish security forces yesterday ringed a wood and fields near the Northern Ireland border in the search for gunmen who killed a soldier and a policeman on Friday during the rescue of businessman Don Tidy. He had been held for 23 days.

The IRA said its volunteers had to fire in self-defence.

The IRA had admitted kidnapping the British-born Tidy, boss of a supermarket chain, saying it was related to the struggle to end British rule in Northern Ireland.

Some of the searchers feared the gang had slipped through the cordon under cover of darkness, but a police spokesman said they would press forward when it was light.

It was earlier claimed that security forces had captured two of the terrorists. But Saturday night Police Superintendent Pat Jordan said all the gang managed to escape from the scene of the gun battle. (AP, Reuter)

## Spanish disco fire prompts calls for stricter safety laws

MADRID (Reuter). — The fire that killed 83 young people trapped in a crowded basement discotheque early Saturday has prompted calls for stricter safety standards in Spain.

Four of the owners of the fashionable Alcala 20 disco were questioned yesterday by a judge probing survivors' statements that several exit doors were blocked during the fire that gutted the four lower floors of the building.

The death toll in the blaze rose to 83 after a 24-year-old woman died yesterday morning, the second of the nearly 30 injured to die in hospital. Court sources said 81 bodies had been recovered from the converted musical hall.

The country's leading newspapers said in editorials that, if the disco had recently passed an official safety inspection, then standards

should be tightened to avoid a new disaster.

"There is a gap between the modernization of everyday life in Spain and the insufficient development of laws protecting citizens' lives. In terms of communications, labour conditions and entertainment centres, legislation in Spain is either not enforced or insufficient," the popular *Diario 16* said.

The fire was a third major tragedy for Madrid where two plane crashes have killed 274 people in the past three weeks.

The investigating judge has until tomorrow night to decide whether to order the disco's owners to be remanded in custody.

Police said the blaze apparently started shortly before closing time when plastic curtains on a stage caught fire.

## 10 Moslem extremists held for explosions in Kuwait

KUWAIT (Reuter). — Kuwaiti authorities have arrested 10 Moslem fundamentalists — seven Iraqis and three Lebanese — in connection with last week's bombings in the Gulf state, a government spokesman was quoted as saying yesterday.

The Kuwaiti news agency quoted Minister of State for Cabinet Affairs Abdul-Aziz Hussein as saying all 10 belonged to an underground Iraqi fundamentalist group, the a-Dawa al-Islamia (Islamic Call) and all had admitted involvement in the bombings.

Half a dozen bombs went off in a 90-minute period in Kuwait last Monday, with the U.S. and French Embassies among the targets. At least five people died at the U.S. Embassy, including the driver of the

bomb truck, and one in a separate bomb attack at Kuwait airport.

The Kuwaiti government identified the dead driver of the suicide truck as an Iraqi Moslem fundamentalist with pro-Iranian sympathies who belonged to the banned Iraqi a-Dawa al-Islamia party.

The official news agency also said that, while arresting the suspects, the authorities had seized a number of weapons. It said they had been smuggled into Kuwait by sea but gave no further details.

Kuwait borders Iraq and Saudi Arabia and has supported Iraq in its Gulf war against Iran.

Iraq blamed Iran for the Kuwait blasts and bombarded several Iranian towns last Wednesday in retaliation. Iran denied any involvement in the bombings.

## "Times": Nazis profit from diary fraud

LONDON (Reuter). — The *Sunday Times*, one of the publications fooled by fake "Hitler Diaries" earlier this year, said yesterday the proceeds of the hoax would be found, if anywhere, in the coffers of a fund set up by former Nazis.

The pivotal role in the fraud had been played by a former SS bodyguard of Adolf Hitler, Medard Klapper, who led a reporter of the West German magazine *Stern*, Gerd Heidemann, to believe that he was on the trail of missing Nazi leader Martin Bormann, the newspaper said.

Heidemann, now awaiting trial for fraud, realized in the summer of

1981 that the diaries supplied by Stuttgart collector Konrad Kujau were forged. But by then *Stern* had already bought nine.

Heidemann hoped his Nazi links would enable him to expose Bormann to the world, the newspaper added.

The *Sunday Times*, which bought the British rights to the diaries from *Stern*, said Klapper belonged to a mutual aid society for elderly Nazis known as Hieg. It said it believed DM4 million marks (\$141m.) of *Stern's* money, originally paid to finance Heidemann's investigations, ended up in Hieg's coffers.

## Khomeini warns Iranians to stop criticizing gov't

TEHERAN (Reuter). — Iranian leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini has told Parliament, the Moslem clergy and businessmen to stop criticizing the government.

Teheran Radio quoted the ayatollah as telling members of Parliament on Saturday: "We who face the hostility of the world should not burden the government."

He noted that people in Parliament, among the clergy and in the merchant community are openly attacking the government, and warned: "The collapse of the government today would be harmful to both the Majlis (Parliament) and the clergy."

Khomeini said the criticism was caused by people being manipulated by supporters of the ousted monarchy, the outlawed Mujahed-e-Khalq guerrillas and other opposition groups.

The government of Prime Minister Mir-Hossein Mousavi has been under fire for months because of shortages of basic goods, high inflation and other economic problems.

The government, which has seen the economy recover somewhat in

the last two years from the low point it reached after the 1979 Islamic Revolution, has blamed many of the problems on the 38-month-old war with Iraq.

The criticism has come from both sides of Iranian politics, with radicals accusing the government of failing to carry out promised economic reforms and right-wingers accusing it of trying to reform too much.

## Kenya leader's father found slain at home

NAIROBI (Reuter). — The father of Kenyan Vice-President Mwai Kibaki was found murdered at his home early Saturday presumably by a burglar, official sources said here.

John Kibaki's exact age was not known, but he was reputed to be one of the oldest people in Kenya at an estimated age of 100.

His body, with a cut on the head, was found in the bedroom of his home in the Nyeri area north of Nairobi, the Kenya News Agency said.



In this photograph released by their kidnappers, jewelry heirs Ar Bulgari and her son, Giorgio Calisconi, hold hands while chain together with a pistol pointing at their heads. The area around Calisconi's allegedly missing right ear is banded. (UPI telephoto)

## Abductors send ear to family of Italian jewelry firm heir

ROME (AP). — Kidnappers have sent an ear to the family of the Bulgari jewelry store heir, saying they will kill the youth and his mother if their ransom demands are not met, officials said yesterday.

An ear that the kidnappers said belonged to 16-year-old Giorgio Calisconi was found in a trash can in central Rome after an anonymous caller gave the family directions. Police said they were examining the ear to see if it was Giorgio's.

In 1973, the kidnappers of John Paul Getty III, a grandson of the American billionaire, cut off his ear to press their ransom demands. He was freed after the family reportedly paid a then-record ransom of \$2.8 million.

Earlier the abductors sent a photo to *Il Messaggero*, showing Giorgio with his mother, Anna Bulgari Calisconi, chained around the neck and held at gunpoint. The grainy snapshot appeared to show Giorgio missing his right ear, with blood pouring down his face.

The Rome daily said there were two messages left with the photo: "This is our response — see the photo — to the so-called blocking

of assets by the court," said handwritten note in block letters from the kidnappers.

The note referred to a court or placing assets of the Calisconi Bulgari families under judicial control, in a move to prevent a ransom payment.

"We also add that if in case entire ransom is not paid within terms established we will do a with the hostages," said the letter signed by a previously unheard group called "Communists of Attack."

There was also a handwritten letter from Mrs. Calisconi to the P. pleading for John Paul to intervene. Calisconi and her son were kidnapped November 19 by th armed and masked bandits in their family estate south of Rome. She is heir with four cousins of famous Bulgari jewelry store shops in Rome, New York, P. Geneva and Monte Carlo.

Mrs. Calisconi's cousin, Gi. Bulgari, also a co-owner of Bulgari store, was kidnapped 1975. He was freed after a month captivity when his family paid a sum of \$2m.

## Soviet paper: Law schools are corrupt

MOSCOW (Reuter). — Soviet law schools are "open to bribery" and nepotism in the competition for places, and are in "need of" dire reforms in their selection system, a leading national newspaper said yesterday.

The law faculties of several provincial universities in particular were riddled with corruption, with students admitted to law courses and passing examinations often on account of influence or money, the

Communist youth daily *Komsomolskaya Pravda* said.

One suggested measure to "up" the system was that prospective students should be selected from people who have already "two years' work, normally in an administrative section of the Int. Ministry."

In a letter of response, the re of one university said a number people had been dismissed: corruption revelations and reform measures are under way.

## 24 Italian sailors die in highway accident

GENOA (Reuter). — At least 24 Italian Navy sailor were killed yesterday when a bus taking them to a football match plunged 70 metres from a motorway viaduct, police said.

Altogether 39 sailors were travelling from their base at La Spezia to Turin. In heavy rain and wind, the bus struck the divider on the

Genoa-Sestri Levante Motor that crosses rugged mountainous terrain, police said.

It then careered across the posite carriageway and b through the outside barrier to c into the valley below.

Rescue workers, aided firemen and police, recovered bodies and three injured survi

## Sports

### Iron men's hopes for marathon

By JACK LEON  
Post Sports Reporter  
TEL AVIV. — American Gary Siriano, 25, the favourite for Wednesday's seventh annual Sea of Galilee International Marathon, has set his sights on winning one of his country's three places at the marathon event of next summer's Los Angeles Olympics.

"I am looking for a good result in this race to improve my chances of qualifying for the Olympics," said Siriano, who last September won the Oregon Marathon from 1,000 starters in a personal best time of 2:12.32. At present, he is only rated 12th in the U.S. over the 42.195-km. distance, but he told me yesterday, "I am still confident that I will make it to Los Angeles." The current

Galilee race record is 2:14.02.

A focus of interest in the event be Daniel Honig, 37, from York, who at the Kinneret Marathon will introduce the fast-developing sport of Triathlon to Israel. Set at 4.45 a.m. on Wednesday morning Honig will swim three kilometers the Sea of Galilee, then cycle 90 around the lake to Ein Gev, and there in time to line up for marathon at 9 a.m. He aims to complete the grueling 135-km. course in 8 1/2 hours.

With the dozen overseas competitors in the Tel Aviv Hilton, several have entered for the 5-km. cross-country triathlon. Among them are Finnish, now double translator for Finland's long-distance Karri Manner, who knows only his language, Finnish.

### Galbreath batters Bengals

MINNEAPOLIS (AP). — Tony Galbreath dove in for a pair of fourth-quarter touchdowns, both on fourth-down-and-inches, as the Minnesota Vikings rallied to beat the Cincinnati Bengals 20-14 in a National Football League season finale for both teams.

The game did not affect the NFL playoff picture, as Minnesota ended its season 8-8 and the Bengals fell to 7-9.

Galbreath carried the ball 19 times for 88 yards against the Bengals' no. 1-ranked defence in the NFL.

His first 1-yard touchdown burst came two seconds into the fourth quarter and tied the game at 14-14. The fourth-down score climaxed a 66-yard, 10-play Viking drive.

In Tanodo, Florida, Johnnie Jones, the only single-season 1,000-yard rusher in Tennessee history, scored twice on short runs barely

two minutes apart early in fourth quarter on Saturday lifting the underdogs to a season 23 victory over Maryland in Florida Citrus Bowl.

Jones, who carried 29 times for 154 yards, was named the game's most valuable player over the line of scrimmage from out at the 49-second mark of the final play on an 80-yard drive and put Tennessee 23-20, the game's seventh and last lead of the junior, who gained 1,116 yards during regular season and led the Southeastern Conference with 111.6 yards per game. He scored on a two-yard run 2:35 later, then after Tennessee's Benji Apple, who intercepted a deflected pass by backing up back Frank Reich, snubbing for the Norman "Boomer" Eason, and returned yards to the Tennessee 14.

That made it 30-20 and offset a Clint record 10th field goal by Maryland's Atkinson with 4:34 remaining.

The triumph gave Maryland Tennessee record. Maryland's Atlantic Coast Conference champs, who were tied for 16th in the regular-season Associated Press poll and as a 12-point favourite, wound up 8-4 and their fourth consecutive bowl. Atkinson also kicked the field goals of 34 and 22 yards.



## On Guard

### Shadow of Terrorism Falls Across the U.S.

By BERNARD GWERTZMAN

**T**HE images of the past week tell the story. The battleship *New Jersey* firing its 16-inch guns into the Lebanese hills, the debris in the truck-bombed American compound in Kuwait, the concrete highway dividers being placed around the State Department in Washington and in front of the United States Mission to the United Nations in New York. Violence is being answered not only with force but with anger, frustration and worry.

With its massive firepower, the United States has tried to demonstrate that it cannot be run out of Lebanon. But the frantic efforts to protect Federal buildings against the possible spread of suicide bombings to this country contain another message: that the United States Government at home and its 260 missions overseas are vulnerable to terrorism.

This is taking a psychological toll on Government officials who used to view their offices in Foggy Bottom or Pennsylvania Avenue as sanctuaries from the madness sweeping other parts of the world. Now, White House officials work with the knowledge that there are antiaircraft missiles nearby because of concern about possible kamikaze helicopter or airplane attacks. State Department officials, who once coveted offices that faced the street, now discuss the chances of their getting injured if a truck jumped a barricade and exploded on the side of the building.

#### What About the Monuments?

A veteran security official said "this is a nightmare." He suggested that there was no sense protecting the State Department with bulky barriers while doing nothing about the Lincoln Memorial, or the Washington Monument, or the Smithsonian Institution, which are equally visible symbols of this country. Are concrete barriers to be placed everywhere, he asked, just as air raid bunkers were during the Battle of Britain in World War II?

Tighter security measures have been put in place not only at Federal buildings around the country but at local facilities as well. The New York City Police Department, for example, has made access to its headquarters and station houses more difficult. The atmosphere was such that three boxes of cheesecake delivered to the Exxon building last week immediately became suspect.

What makes it so frustrating for officials is the phantom nature of the enemy. The emergency construction goes on in Washington but nobody seems to know whether this is just an effort to avoid risks and prepare for any kind of attack or whether there is a specific threat in mind. The British at least knew they were likely to be bombed by the Germans. But who will bomb Washington? The consensus is that if an attack comes it will be from Iranian fanatics, supporters of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini of the kind who held Americans hostage for more than a year in 1979-81, and who are believed to be behind the bombings in Beirut in October and in Kuwait on Monday.

There has been one recent bombing in Washington — at the Capitol — but that was presumed the work of some leftist Latin group unhappy with the Grenada operation. It is a matter of high conjecture whether any Iranian terrorists are working here. Moreover, it is uncertain whether the bombings in Beirut and Kuwait were directly controlled from Tehran or were the work of independent Shiite Moslems caught up in a new holy war. President Reagan, in a press conference last week,

said the United States did not have ironclad evidence to accuse the Iranian Government in a court.

Nor is it clear why the bombings are taking place now. Are the attacks encouraged by Syria in an effort to drive the Americans from the Middle East as many officials in Washington seem to think? And how much of it has to do with the Iran-Iraq war? The Iraqis, for instance, interpreted last week's attacks in Kuwait, which also damaged Kuwaiti and French installations, as an act of intimidation against Persian Gulf nations which are supporting it in the war. The Iraqis retaliated with missile and air attacks on Iranian cities.

The concerns about terrorism are connected with deeper questions related to Lebanon. The United States is committed to staying in Lebanon to help end the de facto Syrian and Israeli partition of the country (the Palestine Liberation Organization, for all practical purposes, is now finished as a force in Lebanon), and to press for a Lebanese government that takes into account the interests of both the Christian groups and those of the Syrian-backed Shiite and Druse groups.

The American strategy depends on persuading the Syrians to stop trying to spoil the diplomatic efforts for a settlement, and instead to work for a formula in which their forces would leave but their influence would remain. "We have made it clear to the Syrians that we recognize that they have major interests in Lebanon, and we are not trying to cut them out of the action," a State Department official said. "What we are really asking is whether Syria is willing to settle for half a loaf in Lebanon, or wants the whole loaf. If it is a half, we can all get out of there. But if it is the whole, then we may have trouble."

The American air attacks on Syrian positions two Sundays ago, and the New Jersey's bombardments last week were described by Washington as necessary to persuade the Syrians of its determination not to be pushed out of the area by the continuing attacks on the marines. But the attacks have also publicized even more dramatically the American presence in the region, and this has the effect of increasing the incentive for attacks on the United States installations. (Repercussions in Congress and in Kuwait, page 2.)

## 'Who Are These Smiling Killers?'

By RICHARD D. LYONS

**T**HE outbreak of terrorism worrying American leaders is likely to worsen because the world has entered a period of fundamentalism that spawns acts of fanaticism, according to researchers into violence and its causes. These students of terrorism agree that it is virtually impossible to prevent killings by fanatics who are themselves willing to die.

Readiness to die for a political belief is so alien to Occidental thought as to baffle most Americans, and indeed the classic cases in recent times have been Oriental: The Japanese kamikaze pilots who dove to their deaths; the Buddhist monks in Vietnam who set themselves on fire; and now the truck drivers in the Middle East who have killed hundreds of people as well as themselves.

"A lot of people are suddenly asking such questions as: 'Who are these smiling killers?'"

"Why are they acting the way they are?" and "Is there any way to stop them other than putting up more sandbags?" said Dr. Lawrence Z. Freedman, professor of psychiatry at the University of Chicago and chairman of its Institute for Social and Behavioral Pathology.

According to Dr. Freedman and other experts, the answers can be both simple and complex. "It's easy to simply say you're giving your life for your country," he said. "Yet being part of a religious terrorist group energizes and reinforces the mysticism of it. You are extending yourself to a degree that makes the risks involved, up to and including the loss of your life, secondary to the ultimate gain of the messianic force that is driving you and those around you."

There is general agreement that the actions of the present group of terrorists stem from religious conditioning inculcated by extremist Shiite imams for hundreds of years. The current conduct of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini and the lesser fundamentalist religious lead-

ers of an extremist sect calling itself the Islamic Holy War derives from feuds that started with the formation in Persia at the end of the 11th century of the original Assassins.

#### When Suicide Enhances Life

Dr. Paul Wilkinson, professor of international relations at the University of Aberdeen, Scotland, said the minority Shiite fundamentalists were challenging the Sunni orthodoxy. He described the situation in the Middle East as "particularly dangerous because the alliance of Persian Gulf states favoring Iraq is viewed by the religious fundamentalists as the embodiment of the anti-Moslem movement, and the existence of ties between moderate Arab states and the Western nations is high in the Iranian Book of Devils."

Dr. Robert Lifton, a professor of psychiatry at Yale who has written extensively on the psychology of extremism, said that terrorists "resort to violence paradoxically in order to affirm their own vitality." He added, "Ex-

pressions of terror, even if they are suicidal, can be seen as life-enhancing because the terrorist may see himself sacrificing his life in order to affirm the life of his group. That's why it's so hard to suppress terror along traditional lines."

"We're in the middle of a worldwide epidemic of religious and political fundamentalism," he continued. "We know from the history of Protestant fundamentalism in this country that it is likely to arise where there is fear of the loss of fundamentals, of basic life-affirming beliefs and experiences, indeed of life itself. Hence we have fertile soil everywhere for the emergence of fundamentalism and the invoking of sacred scripture, religious or political, for solutions of all conflicts or problems, not only moral but also political, military and economic."

Brian M. Jenkins, a Rand Corporation analyst, noted that "Americans tend to underestimate the power of religious commitment and turn to psychiatrists for explanations of abhorrent behavior. Western society may find it inconceivable that people are willing to blow themselves up in the name of Allah, but the bewilderment is as much a reflection of our society as that of the extremist Shiite."

## Major News

### In Summary

#### Another Sliver Of Hope for The Lebanese

Pressure for reconciliation in Lebanon mounted last week amid hints the warring parties might be ready for another try at compromise. There was talk in Beirut of reviving the intra-Lebanese talks in Geneva. After 16 days of heavy shelling between factions, a cease-fire was announced. The airport, where American marines are encamped, was reopened to civilian planes.

Any respite was welcome. Earlier in the week, the battleship *New Jersey* shook Beirut to its foundations by using its heavy 16-inch guns for the first time against Syrian antiaircraft positions inland, which had fired at (and missed) Navy reconnaissance F-14's. It was the first time since the Vietnam war that the *New Jersey* had gone into action. Navy guns also silenced leftist artillery harassing the Maronites.

Despite the hostile exchanges,

Presidential envoy Donald H. Rumsfeld conferred twice in Damascus with Foreign Minister Abdel Khalim Khaddam. The Syrian-supported National Salvation Front, perhaps coincidentally, agreed to stop shelling Christian areas of Beirut. Christian militias in turn promised to stop shelling Druse mountain villages. Leftist and Druse gunmen lifted the siege of Christians trapped in Deir al-Qamar since September; Israeli trucks and Red Cross buses evacuated 2,500 militiamen and several thousand refugees.

For those concerned over the Maronites and their role in Lebanon, President Reagan offered little comfort. He said at his news conference that the Maronites could be withdrawn "if there was such a collapse of order that it was absolutely certain there was no solution to the problem." An aide added that this was a warning to President Amin Gemayel to redouble his efforts at reconciliation. Mr. Gemayel heard much the same from the British in London. Then he made a surprise visit to Libya to see Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi, who supports the Lebanese leftists with troops,

weapons and money.

In the northern city of Tripoli, the first Palestinians to be evacuated — 93 wounded men — left yesterday for Cyprus on an Italian ship. Yasir Arafat prepared to follow with 4,000 Palestinian troops aboard five Greek ships flying the United Nations flag. Impatient for his departure, Syrian-backed Palestinian dissidents rained rocket and artillery fire on Arafat's men. Israeli gunboats also harassed his positions. Mr. Arafat has demanded international guarantees of his safety.

In Washington, meanwhile, the Administration acknowledged the inability of Israel, Egypt and several other important clients to repay

huge loans for military aid. In a policy switch, they will get outright military grants — \$1.4 billion for Israel and \$1.1 billion for Egypt in the next fiscal year.

#### Argentina Looks Back in Anger

After half a century's experience with coups, Argentines step gingerly when calling the military to account. Last week, Raúl Alfonsín, the new elected President, announced plans to prosecute generals and admirals in a fashion calculated to keep potential coup makers off balance.

Mr. Alfonsín accused nine former junta members, including three Presidents, of responsibility for ordering murder, torture and kidnapping. But no charges were issued against the previous President, retired Maj. Gen. Reynaldo Bignone, and the junta that presided over the transition to civilian rule.

A blue ribbon commission will investigate the disappearance and presumed deaths of more than 6,000 people during the 1970's campaign against leftist subversion. Retired senior officers serving as military judges will assess the responsibility of the nine defendants. By using courts martial, Mr. Alfonsín avoided the appearance of indicting the military per se. But under a proposal sent to Congress, the military ver-



Argentine President Raúl Alfonsín with former President Isabel Martínez de Perón in Buenos Aires last week.

dicts and sentences would be subject to civilian review by the Supreme Court. "The law's full weight should fall on those who put the death machine in action and those who took advantage of it to torture or satisfy personal desires," the President said. Hearing that, some officers reportedly began leaving the country.

Seven leaders of the leftist Montonero and People's Revolutionary Army terrorist groups are also to be prosecuted, making it likely they would have second thoughts about returning from exile.

Mr. Alfonsín also tightened civilian control by reaching down in the

ranks for new service chiefs — forcing their seniors, more than half the generals and two-thirds the admirals, into retirement.

In Buenos Aires for the President's inauguration, Vice President Bush said Washington wanted improved relations. Mr. Alfonsín promptly asked for help with Argentina's \$40 billion foreign debt. Economy Minister Bernardo Grinspun followed up by asking for a six-month delay on the Government's payments while rescheduling is negotiated. The bankers said they would go along with a delay, but insisted at least some interest payments be made.

#### Reagan's stake in Japanese election

3



# The World

## Nonnuclear Talks, Too, Are Left Hanging

After 10 years of largely fruitless discussions, the East-West talks on reducing nonnuclear forces in central Europe slid into limbo last week. When the 14 delegations adjourned for their usual Christmas break, NATO countries proposed coming back on Jan. 26, but the Warsaw Pact delegates said they weren't ready to set a date to resume.

The suspension extended the uncertainty over East-West arms control negotiations raised by the Soviet Union after the deployment of new American medium-range missiles in West Germany, Britain and Italy. Talks in Geneva on this type of weapon were interrupted Nov. 23 by a Russian walkout; parallel negotiations on strategic long-range weapons were recessed Dec. 8, also without an agreed date for resumption. President Reagan reiterated at a news conference his belief that the Russians would come back to the talks "because it is to their advantage to come back."

Manfred Fleischhauer, an East German spokesman, said the Vienna talks were "being misused by the West to produce an alibi" while a weapons buildup continued. But he left the door open for resuming the talks after discussion through diplomatic channels. The State Department said that when the Communist countries were ready, "we'll be there."

Although progress in removing major hurdles to agreement has been made in the past two years, the Vienna talks have remained deadlocked, principally over the West's contention that Warsaw Pact forces number about 150,000 more troops than the pact will admit to. NATO delegates say that even after appropriate reductions were put into effect, Moscow could send in reinforcements on short notice. If American forces were removed from Europe, their redeployment across the Atlantic would be more difficult.

## More Heat on El Salvador

Washington seems more impatient by the day with the obstacles El Salvador is putting in the way of democratic reform. Last week Vice President Bush presented one of the most drastic demands yet — three years of exile for right-wing terrorist suspects that the United States Government, and presumably the Salvadoran Government, know about. Mr. Bush handed Provisional President Magaña a letter from President Reagan stressing the importance of ridding the country of the death squads, which are blamed for thousands of civilian killings and the alienation of much of the population.

Mr. Bush was reported to have given Mr. Magaña a deadline: If there was no action by Jan. 10, the Reagan Administration would drop its support for the Salvadoran Government and would no longer seek aid from Congress.

The United States is particularly upset over the failure to bring to justice the killers of four American churchwomen and two American labor advisers. The cases have made Congress reluctant to vote funds.

Nonetheless, financial incentives accompanied the new demands. How it would get the money was unclear, but the Administration was reported to have promised funds for the training of two additional 1,000-man battalions and several more 350-man counterinsurgency teams as well as helicopters for medical evacuations. Mr. Magaña's response was familiar: The Government, he said, was "trying to investigate and will continue to investigate" civilians and military personnel suspected of crimes.

The fate of reforms intended to draw public support away from leftist insurgents is also cause for concern. Last week, the Constituent Assembly completed a new constitution, the 36th since 1824, but rightist parties pushed through measures that cut by more than half the land available for distribution to peasants. Agrarian reform is considered a basic test of El Salvador's willingness to democratize.

## Walesa Puts His Prize to Work

Lech Walesa used his Nobel Peace Prize last week to step up pressure on Poland's Government to come to terms with him on Solidarity, the outlawed labor union he is trying to keep alive.

At Oslo University, Mr. Walesa declared through a spokesman that "we have no alternative but to come to an agreement" through "a real dialogue between state authorities and the people." But the Gdansk shipyard electrician had so little faith in those authorities that he dared not attend the Nobel ceremony.



Lech Walesa displaying his Nobel medal at the shrine of the Black Madonna in Czestochowa last week.

lest he be barred from returning to Poland. He was represented in Oslo by his wife, Danuta, and his eldest son, Bogdan, and his speech was read by Bogdan Cywinski, a Solidarity leader exiled in Brussels.

Mr. Walesa showed where at least some of his faith lay by taking the gold medal that Mrs. Walesa had brought back and depositing it at the shrine of the Black Madonna in Czestochowa, the icon that Roman Catholic Poland believes has miraculous powers to protect the nation. The event marked the second anniversary of the imposition of martial law, which made Solidarity illegal and has yet to be lifted entirely. On their drive back to Gdansk, Mr. Walesa and his wife were stopped by the police 13 times and subjected to body searches. The police appeared to be seeking copies or tapes of a speech Mr. Walesa was barred from making Friday, the anniversary of the shooting of rioting Gdansk workers in 1970. The text, which reached Western reporters, predicted more upheavals unless the Government agreed to share power.

In an effort to illustrate the point, thousands of Poles tried to demonstrate in Warsaw, Gdansk and other cities but were met by a powerful display of police force. In Wroclaw, water cannons dispersed the crowds. The press had previously reported a wave of arrests, apparently to discourage protests against both the Government's past actions and its plans to increase food prices again in the new year. In the speech read in Oslo, Mr. Walesa warned of a looming economic crisis and appealed for an end to American sanctions against Poland. The authorities have been seeking the same thing with only limited results and appeared galled by the possibility that the Reagan Administration might more readily listen to the Solidarity leader than to them.

## Trading Bases For Money

The United States needs foreign military bases and Portugal needs money. The two requirements were reconciled last week in an agreement signed in Lisbon by Secretary of State George P. Shultz for continued use of the Lajes Air Base in the Azores. In exchange, the cash-strapped Portuguese treasury will get increased military and economic aid.

The United States thus successfully completed a round of negotiations this year that also insured continued use of bases in Greece, Spain and the Philippines. All the talks ran into difficulty because of local susceptibilities over a foreign presence and demands for compensation. In Portugal's case, total assistance will rise from \$90 million this fiscal year to \$145 million in the next fiscal year. Portugal would have liked a longer commitment but the Administration could only promise to see what it could do.

The United States has had the Atlantic Ocean base since World War II. Portugal was the only ally to allow the United States to use its territory to move supplies to Israel during the 1973 war with the Arabs. Under the new agreement, prior consultation with Lisbon will be required for such emergency use.

## War and Press

What remained of the American combat force in Grenada went home last week, leaving behind a few hundred technicians and military policemen. But hostilities over Grenada between officials and the press continued. When Secretary of State George P. Shultz was asked by Gannett publishing executives why coverage of the operation had been so restricted, he answered: "It seems as though the reporters are always against us. And so, they're always seeking to report something that's going to screw things up." The White House said this did not reflect the attitude of the President or of his staff.

Henry Gliner and Milt Freudenheim

## The White House Fears Lebanon's Impact on the Campaign

# Beirut Gives Congress Some Second Thoughts

By STEVEN V. ROBERTS

WASHINGTON  
REPRESENTATIVE Lee H. Hamilton was back home in Indiana recently, chatting amiably with a constituent, when the conversation suddenly shifted to Lebanon. "She turned to me and said, 'Get those Marines out of there, they have to come home,'" the Democratic lawmaker recalled. "And I think other members are encountering that sentiment very, very frequently."

The rising concern across the country helped prompt Mr. Hamilton and Representative Les Aspin, a Wisconsin Democrat, to write a letter to President Reagan last week, warning him that popular support for his Middle East policy was rapidly eroding. In blunt terms, they told the President that he should limit the country's objectives in the region and find a way to remove the Marines as soon as possible.

"We want to make clear our view that our commitment in Lebanon should not be open-ended," the two wrote. "The American people have little tolerance for further sacrifice of their young men to the hatred and ambitions of others."

Some people on Capitol Hill believe the letter could mark a turning point in the debate over American troops in the Middle East. Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Aspin are two of the most respected and influential members of Congress on foreign and military matters, and both supported the compromise resolution last fall that applied the War Powers Act to Lebanon and authorized the President to keep the Marines there for an extra 18 months, through the spring of 1985.

While they continue to oppose immediate withdrawal of the troops, the legislators said the President's policy has to change. Mr. Hamilton

added: "I think we're reflecting the views of a good many members on this thing." One who has already been influenced is Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., who also backed the original war powers compromise and is now having second thoughts. The Speaker's aides said last week that "he identifies with the letter and hopes the Administration gets the message."

## Republicans Also Uneasy

This uneasiness is not limited to Democrats. Representative Lawrence Coughlin, a Pennsylvania Republican and former marine, said that as casualties mount, his constituents are growing more restive, "particularly as they see no resolution in sight." Representative Ed Zschau, a California Republican who also voted for the 18-month mandate, said he was increasingly convinced that American troops had become a "negative factor" in the search for peace, because their mere presence incites violence.

Many lawmakers continue to support the President in the belief he is defending vital interests in Lebanon. Some doubters are unwilling to go public on a matter of national security.

The consensus on Capitol Hill is that if the President can show progress toward a peaceful solution in Lebanon, Congress will stick by its 18-month authorization. But if the situation continues to deteriorate and the violence continues to mount, he could face a new challenge to his authority when Congress returns on Jan. 23.

The Hamilton-Aspin letter suggested three specific changes in policy. The most important was that the Administration should reduce the American stakes in Lebanon. Ever since Secretary of State George P. Shultz first testified that the Administration was seeking a peaceful and united Lebanon, free of foreign troops, many lawmakers have been convinced that those goals were

overstated and unachievable, particularly with only 1,600 Marines encamped in a defensive and vulnerable position.

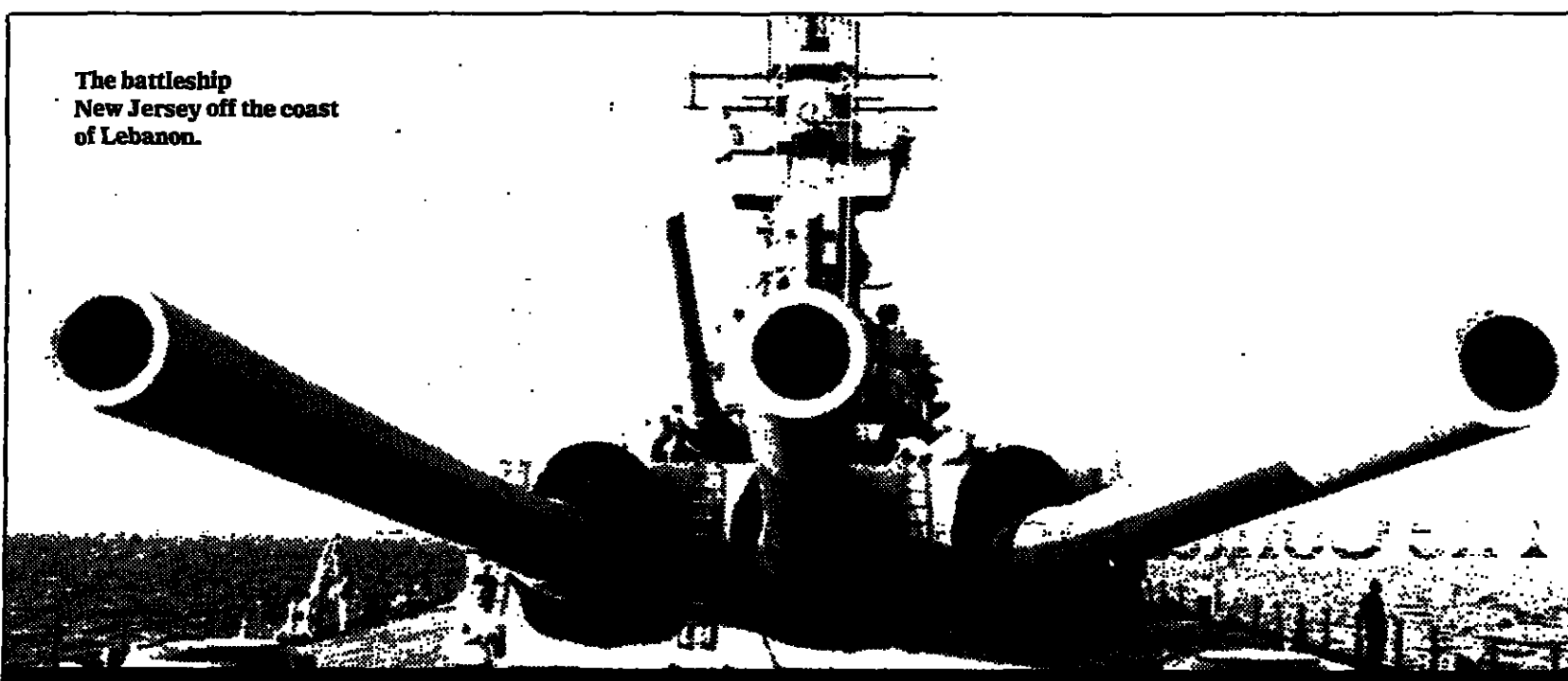
Moreover, many in Congress agree with the two Democrats when they say that American vital interests are simply not threatened by the fate of Lebanon. No matter what the White House says, they maintain, Lebanon does not hold the key to Middle East oil supplies or even to the security of Israel. "A Lebanon that's stable, even if partitioned, meets America's national interest," Mr. Hamilton argued. "We can live with a de facto arrangement."

In addition, the Hamilton-Aspin letter urges the Administration to put more pressure on the Government of President Amin Gemayel to include Moslems in a more equitable power-sharing arrangement. And it encourages policy makers to "resist the temptation to resort to military solutions."

In response to such criticism, President Reagan has been sending mixed signals. In a report to Congress last week that was required by the war powers legislation, Mr. Reagan repeated his belief that "the international credibility of the United States and its partners" was at stake in Lebanon. But after the President's news conference on Wednesday, his aides called reporters to say that Mr. Reagan had been trying to warn Mr. Gemayel that American patience was not limitless, and that he should increase efforts to broaden his base.

Some Congressional Democrats are convinced that the President's advisers now see the need to revise America's commitment in Lebanon and find a way to bring the troops home. "I don't know whether that's penetrated the President," Mr. Hamilton noted, "but I'm quite sure it has those around him."

These advisers are responding to political reality, and the growing fear that Lebanon could do to President Reagan what Vietnam did to Lyndon Johnson and Iran did to Jimmy Carter. "There are people in the Reagan camp who see this as potentially their most damaging issue," said an aide to Senate Republican leaders. "They don't want to go into an election year and have this explode on him."



The battleship New Jersey off the coast of Lebanon.

Black Star / James Nachtwey

# Bombing Shatters Kuwait's Reputation

By JUDITH MILLER

GIANT jagged slabs of concrete scattered on the ground, twisted fragments of metal, blood-stained rubble — the scene at the United States Embassy compound last week was all too familiar. It could have been the American Embassy in Beirut in April or the Marine headquarters there in October, targets of nearly identical suicide bombings.

As they did in the earlier attacks, most Arab states condemned the bombings of American, French and Kuwaiti installations that killed six people and wounded more than 60 (no Americans were killed; a few suffered minor injuries). But the condemnations were more indignant this time. The state-controlled Kuwaiti newspapers found the attacks on the Americans and French deplorable although not surprising. But why, they asked, in Kuwait? Why did Shiite Moslem fundamentalists hit a country whose relations with Washington have been particularly strained?

"We have no doubt that the extremist policies of President Ronald Reagan in blindly tying American strategy to Israel are creating tremendous grudges," said Al-Qabas, a leading Kuwaiti newspaper, "and that these grudges would find outlets in blind attacks against it and allied Western countries. But those who pretended to strike at American interests ignored the fact that there is no American ambassador here because of Kuwait's righteous straightforward pan-Arab policies." In August, Kuwait rejected the nomination of Brandon Grove as ambassador because he had served in the American Consulate in Jerusalem. Relations with Washington have been strained ever since.

So why Kuwait? Government officials and other analysts offered several explanations. Some pointed to Kuwait's political and financial support of Iraq in the war with Iran. Others blamed Kuwait's activist foreign policy, its efforts to help end the Gulf war. "Our Saudi friends have long understood the advantage of maintaining a low profile," a Kuwaiti said. Most agreed, however, that Kuwait was attacked because it was the most open, easily accessible state in the region — "a target of opportunity," a senior Western diplomat said.

The terrorists, said Barges Hamoud al-Barges, a Government spokesman, "were seeking to shatter our openness, our stability, our democratic institutions, like the Parliament. They want us to shut our doors to the outside world. They will not succeed."

Even before the bombings, Kuwait worried about internal security. Long a relatively safe haven for Palestinians, dissident Iranians and other refugees, Kuwait had begun to limit foreign residents and to clamp down on their communities. Last week's attacks caused panic partly because of the high proportion of foreigners and disparate groups throughout the Gulf.

Population estimates are unreliable, but only about 600,000 of the 1.4 million people here are believed to be Kuwaitis. There are also 350,000 Palestinians, the largest concentration in the



Marine guarding American Embassy compound bombed in Kuwait last week.

Gulf, at least 200,000 Indians and Pakistanis, 150,000 Egyptians, 80,000 Iranians, and 3,000 Americans. Kuwait had already begun restricting Palestinian entries. Citizenship has always been difficult for non-Kuwaitis to obtain. But the economy will almost certainly continue to be dependent on foreigners, adding to the country's sense of vulnerability.

Dependence on foreigners is even more acute in some other Gulf countries. In Qatar, 200,000 of the 260,000 inhabitants of Doha, the capital, and about 60 percent of the entire population are foreigners. In the United Arab Emirates, all but 25 percent are foreigners.

## Watching the Shiites

Kuwait, which is ruled by the Sunni Moslem al-Sabah family, has also been watching its Shiite Moslems with growing nervousness. Although the great majority of Shiites are believed to be content, Kuwaitis suspect that many secretly admire the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini and his fundamentalist Shiite revolution in Iran. In Bahrain, which is also ruled by Sunnis, 55 percent to 65 percent of the people are Shiites. Two years ago, Bahrainis foiled what they asserted was a

coup attempt by Iranian-backed dissidents. Six of the Gulf states have established the Gulf Cooperation Council with Saudi Arabia as unofficial leader, to try to bolster security. In October, the council conducted military exercises in the Gulf. But military maneuvers do not address the internal threat these countries perceive from their large foreign populations and substantial Shiite communities.

Kuwaiti investigators have identified the suicide driver in the American Embassy bombing as a pro-Iran Moslem fundamentalist from Iraq. But the Government knows the attacks could not have been carried out without local support.

For the moment, it insists that domestic and foreign policies will not be affected. But Iraq, whom it supports, and foreign residents, always dependent on Government good will, appear nervous about the longer-term prospects. American analysts believe that the bombings were a warning by Arab radical states — Iran, Syria and Libya — to all Gulf states. "The radicals were saying, 'do not oppose us, you do so at your peril,'" a Western diplomat said. Kuwait may well take heed. That could mean a lower profile in foreign policy, even sharper criticism of Washington and an internal crackdown.



## Japanese Voting Could Turn on Trade and Defense Spending

## A Big Victory for Nakasone Could Give Reagan a Boost

By CLYDE HABERMAN

TOKYO — For Americans, Japanese politics can evoke memories of what it was like to follow the New York Yankees of the 1950's. There is never a question about who will win, only what the final score will be. After a while, even that can stop being interesting.

Today's elections in Japan for the powerful lower house of Parliament may be different. Not that the winner is in doubt: Barring apocalypse, it will once again be the Liberal Democratic Party, the conservative coalition that has governed Japan without interruption since 1955. But the party's margin of victory is highly uncertain, and that matters because the size of its lead may affect United States-Japan dealings on important issues.

The evidence suggests that the Reagan Administration is rooting for a strong Liberal Democratic showing that would strengthen Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone's hold on the Government. Mr. Nakasone's call for lower Japanese trade barriers and higher defense spending is what the White House likes to hear. A solid majority would give him a reasonable shot at turning these pronouncements into actions, but a thin victory might force him to abandon many of his ideas. "Perhaps more than any other Japanese election in the last decade, this one has direct significance for the United States," a Western diplomat in Tokyo said. A big factor is the close relationship between Mr. Nakasone and President Reagan. The bond is personal, down to homey exchanges of "Ron" and "Yasu" greetings. But it is practical, too. They share a strong conservatism and both have domestic political concerns. Their behavior points to at least a tacit agreement to help each other.

Mr. Reagan's turn came when he visited Tokyo last month and emphasized solidarity with Japan, playing down economic frictions and almost totally ignoring Japanese military spending, which is considered inadequate in Washington. In a country where strong pacifist strands are woven into the political fabric, the Prime Minister would have been ill-served by a guest who chose to hammer away about the need for a tougher defense.

It is widely accepted that if Mr. Nakasone emerges from the election with a firm majority in the 511-member House of Representatives he will seek to repay the favor. That could prove especially convenient for Mr. Reagan if Japan becomes a campaign issue next year and Democrats pursue a protectionist line on the argument that Japan is getting a free ride on defense. What better gift for the White House, the thinking goes, than an appreciable rise in Japanese military spending before November, enabling Mr. Reagan to boast that it was his restraint

that eventually got Tokyo to chip in. Another Democrat-defusing action could come on trade matters, perhaps a new agreement by next spring increasing Japanese imports of American beef and oranges.

It would not even be surprising if 1984 turns out to be the year when Japan breaks through the self-imposed ceiling that keeps its defense budget below 1 percent of the gross national product. Mr. Nakasone hinted as much while campaigning last week. He proposed a review of guidelines that have governed the defense system since World War II. The guidelines cover fundamentals — such as what form of military Japan should have — as well as setting the 1 percent limit, a barrier of considerable political and psychological significance. When his campaign remarks arched eyebrows, Mr. Nakasone quickly denied that policy adjustments were contemplated. Still, some thought he was softening up Japan for changes consistent with hawkish statements he was making long before he became Prime Minister a year ago.

Whether defense changes would be good or bad for Japan, the United States or anyone else, major shifts are unlikely unless Mr. Nakasone and his party do well today. The definition of a good showing may not be formed right away, but a reasonable cutoff point seems to be 270 Liberal Democratic seats in the total of 511, a "safe majority," albeit a decline from the conservatives' present 286. Should Mr. Nakasone tumble close to a simple majority of 255, or fall below that mark, his survival in office could be jeopardized.

## A Gift for Language

For the Reagan Administration, the alternative would almost surely be a less desirable Japanese leader. Mr. Nakasone's favorable reputation rests on a relatively bold foreign policy and close alignment with the West. More than a few analysts are convinced that his outspokenness and gift for language make him more popular with Westerners than Japanese. If he does poorly, the next Prime Minister will think twice before following the same course. As it is, some of Mr. Nakasone's colleagues think he has gone too far. "I think reactive policies are part of our nature," said a senior member of Parliament. "Some of us regard him with misgivings."

There is another possibility — that the conservatives do well today. Mr. Nakasone retains power, but cannot make good on his promises. Thus far, he has not matched his more hawkish rhetoric with action, largely because Japan heads off in new directions only after painstaking study. The United States, some argue, could then have the Japanese Prime Minister it wants, only to become disenchanted with him anyway.



Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone (top right) campaigning in downtown Tokyo.

## Kissinger Ponders the Meaning of Nicaragua's Gestures

## The Contadora Push for Peace Sputters



Mexican President Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado with Henry A. Kissinger in Mexico City last week.

By RICHARD J. MEISLIN

MEXICO CITY — If progress toward peace in Central America were measured in miles flown by mediators, last week would have been a banner one. But officials traveling through the region instead found new obstacles to concerted action.

After moving toward agreement on the measures needed to pacify the area, several of the countries of Cen-

tral America seemed to hesitate at implementing them. "We are not receiving the cooperation we require," said a diplomat from the Contadora group, the four Latin American countries trying to end the fighting and unrest in the region. They are Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela and Panama.

The diplomat cited Honduras as a particular problem: "They are not recognizing anything — that there are foreign military troops, or contras with Central Intelligence Agency financing, or anything in their country." The "contras" are the exiles battling Nicaragua's Sandinista Government.

Uneasiness with the Contadora plan was also evident in El Salvador, which would lose its American military advisers, and in Guatemala, where domestic changes are suggested. These apprehensions appeared to be behind the decision to postpone a meeting of the Central American foreign ministers and their counterparts.

from the Contadora group that had been scheduled for later this month, amid apparently premature rumors of a major advance.

According to diplomats in the region, Honduras's reticence appears to stem from an unwillingness to lose the security, economic and military benefits it is gaining from the presence of thousands of United States troops on its soil. Ridding the area of foreign military involvement is a key objective in the Contadora Group's plan. Honduran officials, however, would like even more benefits

from the United States than they are getting now.

Other objectives would commit the countries to eliminate arms trafficking, prevent the use of one Central American country as a base from which to attack or destabilize another, conduct democratic elections periodically, restore regional economic cooperation and promote internal political reconciliation with opposition groups.

The idea of eliminating foreign elements got unexpectedly strong support last week from Henry A. Kissinger, the head of President Reagan's special panel on Central America.

## Local Problems, Local Solutions

In a meeting with reporters here, Mr. Kissinger called for reducing "Central American problems to Central American dimensions so that they can be worked out by the people concerned in their own manner." He said that indigenous revolutions, caused by local problems and fought by local people with local means, "should not be the concern of the United States."

That represented a change in the attitude of the former Secretary of State, who once said: "I don't see why we need to stand by and watch Chile go Communist due to the irresponsibility of its own people."

Further roiling the negotiations is the cooperative tone struck recently by the Sandinista Government in Managua. Faced with weakening foreign support and economic trouble, the Nicaraguans have promised elections for 1985, sent some 2,000 Cuban civilian and military advisers home, offered an amnesty to many of those who have joined the contras and tried to smooth their relations with the Roman Catholic Church, the business community and others who have been critical.

Costa Rican officials reported that the leader of the Nicaraguan junta, Daniel Ortega Saavedra, had met pri-

vately with President Luis Alberto Monge of Costa Rica in Buenos Aires, where they attended the inauguration of President Raúl Alfonsín.

Mr. Ortega, who is considered by the Reagan Administration to have allied his country with Cuba and the Soviet Union, reportedly promised Mr. Monge a policy of "true nonalignment." Asked by a Mexican reporter whether he believed the Nicaraguan's statement, Mr. Monge said, "I prefer not to answer."

Much of the Salvadoran guerrilla leadership that had found hospitality in Managua has also moved on, with the encouragement of the Nicaraguan Government, some to El Salvador and others to Mexico. Mexican officials said last week that they would be welcome here so long as they stayed within Mexican law and did not drum up support too openly.

Officials in the region who are sympathetic to the Managua regime have been hesitant to judge whether credit for its apparent softening goes to the Contadora group's efforts or to the pressure being placed on the Nicaraguans by the United States military presence in the area and the recent invasion of Grenada.

Mr. Kissinger said that it was "not easy to determine whether they are real concessions or merely verbal reformulations" of previous positions. As he left Mexico for a visit to Venezuela, he asserted that Nicaragua's neighbors felt "threatened by the military buildup and intelligence capabilities of Nicaragua," and this was "one of the greatest obstacles to peace." Nevertheless, he predicted in Caracas that there would be talks between the United States and Nicaragua "in the short term." Mr. Kissinger met with the Venezuelan President-elect, Jaime Lusinchi, who urged him to take Nicaragua's liberalizing moves seriously.

President Reagan's special envoy to the region, Ambassador Richard B. Stone, made a whirlwind trip to all four member nations of the Contadora Group but had few words of optimism to offer. "We are not close" to peace, he said in Bogotá, "but we are marching toward it. It is still a very difficult process."

## Bangladesh General Appoints Himself President and Schedules Elections

## In Dhaka, Tentative Steps Toward Democracy

By WILLIAM K. STEVENS

DHAKA, Bangladesh — To some people, Lieut. Gen. H. M. Ershad's action in proclaiming himself President of this grindingly poor, overpopulated country is another bit of evidence that he intends to remain in power indefinitely. But a more benign construction can be placed on General Ershad's surprise move — that it is part of a serious game of give-and-take and consensus-building that could lead to democracy rather than perpetuation of another third world dictatorship. That outcome could bring a stability unknown to Bangladesh's 95 million people since they won independence from Pakistan in 1971.

It is not unheard of for military regimes to make way for elected civilians; it happened recently in Turkey and Argentina. And in Pakistan, President Mohammed Zia ul-Haq has been telling his frequently skeptical countrymen that he plans to return to democracy by March 1985.

The obstacles for Bangladesh are formidable, however, according to knowledgeable Bangladeshis and foreigners in Dhaka. Politics is conditioned by the chronic scarcity that underlies every aspect of life. The population density of this lush slice of the Ganges delta, a flat open land dotted by ponds and filigreed by countless rivers and streams, is roughly the same as if every person on earth crowded into the continental United States. Bangladesh is the size of Wisconsin; it has the eighth largest population in the world and demographers say this is likely to double within 60 years.

Largely as a result, this is one of the world's poorest

countries. Life is a constant struggle for most Bangladeshis — work in the rice fields, returning home to bamboo villages and meals inadequate to stave off malnutrition. In the cities, the struggle is played out among interest groups that are represented by 72 different political parties. General Ershad has the support of the most powerful group, the military, which backs the party that he would use as a vehicle if, as expected, he sheds his uniform and runs for election. Riots in February and last month were traceable to the struggle between the army and the opposition for power and economic influence.

President Ziaur Rahman, also an army man, had apparently achieved a broadly based, centrist consensus before he was assassinated by a junior army officer in 1981. General Ershad's critics contend that his 19-month-old Government, established in a nonviolent coup, has failed to build a consensus. He has continually called for "dialogue" with the political parties, but they don't see why they should help him. When he announced a presidential election for next May 24 and parliamentary elections for November, the opposition complained that by holding the presidential election first, he would consolidate his power and, perhaps by amending the Constitution, insure continuing dominance for the army.

The opposition is led by Hasina Wazed, the daughter of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, who is known as the nation's founding father, and Khaleida Zia, Ziaur Rahman's widow. The Sheikh was assassinated in 1975. Hasina Wazed heads a 15-party alliance and the Awami League, the Moslem organization that led the independence struggle. Mrs. Zia leads a seven-party group headed by the Bangladesh Nationalists, her husband's old party. In



Lieut. Gen. H. M. Ershad

anti-Government demonstrations in November, six people were killed, hundreds injured and hundreds detained for a time, including Hasina Wazed and Mrs. Zia. Last week, all 200 political detainees were freed. But the Government has reimposed the ban on activities of political parties that it had relaxed last spring.

The President says talks are going on with the opposition. They "can see that nobody's going to win if the situation of confrontation continues," said Maj. Gen. Abdul Mannan Siddiqui, the Home Minister. Some Dhaka residents say that by making himself President, General Ershad has nailed down his position and can now yield on other issues such as the order of elections. Some politicians say he may be inclined to be flexible on this.

In his drive for acceptance, General Ershad appears to be relying partly on his friendly relations with Washington, the biggest source of the foreign aid that is largely keeping Bangladesh afloat. He has been at pains to show that he has the backing of a superpower — but not the Soviet Union. Communism is anathema to most Islamic Bengalis. After the November riots, the Government ordered 18 Soviet diplomats to leave, but at last report they were still in the country.

General Ershad stresses his Government's development of agriculture, rural electrification and public works. Opponents argue that those activities, supported by Western aid, will go on, whoever is in power. Some Western diplomats, however, argue that in the absence of political stability, rural development suffers.

If democracy comes, will it make a basic difference in the villages? For months, General Ershad has spent much time in rural areas, asking about people's concerns. Such contacts are a benefit of democracy but to villagers preoccupied with hunger, politics is largely irrelevant. "When Ershad visits the countryside," a Government official said, "people come to see his helicopter. They don't come to see him."



# The Nation

## New Fronts in Political War Over Hunger

The matter of Americans who might or might not have enough to eat continued to vex the Reagan Administration last week.

A Presidential commission appointed to study hunger canceled a scheduled meeting, prompting some members to complain there would thus be no public debate on how best to shape the final report of the Task Force on Food Assistance. The chairman of the commission, J. Clayburn La Force Jr., dean of the Graduate School of Management at the University of California, Los Angeles, said private consultations with the panel's 13 members would allow his staff to "distill" their perhaps disparate views; he later indicated that the panel would meet in January to adopt its final report. An official of the Food Research and Action Center said the chairman and some members of the commission, which had held hearings in seven cities, were "apparently willing to become a pawn of the White House."

House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. meanwhile accused the Administration of reneging on a promise to spend \$44 million to help local agencies distribute surplus food to the poor. Earlier in the month, a budget office spokesman said the "initial inclination" had indeed been to oppose the spending. But last week another official said a request for the money would in fact be forwarded to Capitol Hill "in the next few days," and a third contended that the Speaker had "done a disservice by trying to play politics" with the issue.

As for Presidential counselor Edwin Meese 3d, he tried to joke



Edwin Meese 3d

away the widely criticized remarks he made a few days ago — among them that there was no authoritative evidence children go hungry in the United States and that some people "go to soup kitchens because the food is free, and that's easier than paying for it." Mr. Meese, who had been compared with Ebenezer Scrooge by one commentator, cracked that Scrooge "had had press in his time." President Reagan said that Mr. Meese's comments had been taken "totally out of context." Further, said Mr. Reagan, "if there is one person in this country hungry, that is one too many."

Not many critics seemed to be mollified. "They're out there," said M. Carl Holman, president of the National Urban Coalition. "And if Mr. Meese would like to take a tour with us, we would take him on a tour of some of these cities, let him talk to some of the Federal officials who know what's happening."

## Where Water Is Not a Given

In the parched districts of the Far West few disputes are as bitter, or carry as much long-range significance, as battles over water. Consequently, a nearly completed court case in New Mexico — a Federal judge is awaiting a report from a special master before handing down his decision — is being closely watched. It pits Indians against the descendants of Spanish-speaking settlers, antagonists with long-standing and conflicting claims to much of the water of the Rio Grande and its tributaries north of Santa Fe.

The case began in 1968, not long before the opening of a new tunnel that would send vast amounts of fresh water along a channel that Pueblo Indians maintain is their own, on rights dating from the Kings of Spain. The state sued; the Indians counterclaimed, and about 1,500 non-Indians have joined in, claiming that the Indians ceded their rights when the area was a part of Mexico.

With nearly a dozen similar water-rights suits pending elsewhere, legal authorities say the New Mexico case could turn on whether Federal Dis-

trict Judge Edwin Mechen of Santa Fe decides that old Spanish or old Mexican law applies. Opponents of the Indians claim they could stand to become "water sheikhs," with considerable political and economic power. For their part, Indians involved in the litigation say if they lose it will be one more instance of the whites reneging on treaties.

## Undercover in Chicago Courts

Critics complain that the Government's agents are sometimes improperly supervised and their nets much too broad, but large-scale undercover investigations have come to a staple of Federal law enforcement. Last week prosecutors announced the results of the latest such inquiry, a three-and-a-half-year investigation of Chicago's municipal court system, the nation's largest. Authorities said 10 men — including three current or former Cook County Circuit Court judges — had been indicted and that more charges were expected. The operation, nicknamed Greyford, was described as the largest of its kind; the indictments included charges of conspiracy, racketeering, mail fraud and extortion.

That the investigation of the Chicago system — which includes 322 judges and 21,000 licensed attorneys — was under way wasn't much of a secret. A Southern Illinois judge who served brief tours in Chicago Traffic Court disclosed last summer that he had doled out justice with a Justice Department tape recorder tucked in his cowboy boot. During the inquiry, which included the bugging of judges' private offices, as many as 100 phony criminal cases were created to uncover suspected wrongdoing, spokesmen said. Undercover agents posed as corrupt defense lawyers, prosecutors and occasionally as defendants or victims of crimes.

The authorities, who said their procedures had been cleared by Washington at every step, weren't optimistic that Chicago justice would be left squeaky clean. "My frustration is that whatever Greyford does, it will not change what has become a tradition of corruption," said Thomas Sullivan, who was United States Attorney when the operation got under way. "You're dealing with simple greed."

## Invitation to the Dance for U.M.W.

The house of labor held a friendship feast last week. The occasion was the United Mine Workers' 49th constitutional convention, also the 36th anniversary of the union's walk-out from the American Federation of Labor. In an opening speech, A.F.L.-C.I.O. president Lane Kirkland asked the miners to walk back in, in the cause of solidarity and of ousting the Republicans on Election Day.

The 1,500 delegates to the five-day meeting in Pittsburgh were as concerned with the union's internal affairs as with its external relations. With 50,000 miners — nearly a third of the active membership — on lay-off and less than half of the nation's coal dug by union hands, a major issue was who controls upcoming contract negotiations. The traditionally fractious rank-and-file came out on top, defeating a proposal by the union's new president, Richard L. Trumka, that he be given the authority to call selective strikes. The last strike, in 1981, came after the membership rejected an agreement negotiated by the previous president.

## More Protection For Textiles

Whatever their devotion to free market principles, few recent Administrations have been able to resist the textile industry's appeals for protection from foreign competition, particularly in election years. After months of pressure, the Reagan White House stepped up to make its bow to the industry last week, announcing tighter controls on imports.

The Administration said the move would affect imports from 36 countries, but there was little doubt among observers that it was aimed principally at mollifying industry complaints about China. A coalition of textile groups had formally complained that Peking was illegally subsidizing textile exports. Washington was not anxious to take up the complaint with Peking, and the industry dropped it in return for last week's changes. The new rules, imposed against the advice of the United States trade representative, Bill Brock, call for restricting imports of any one of 109 categories of textile or apparel goods if the industry complains that Peking's exports exceed 30 percent in the most recent year or the quantity exceeds 20 percent of domestic production. The Administration conceded the changes might lead to higher clothing prices.

Michael Wright,  
Caroline Rand Herron  
and Carlyle C. Douglas

Aides Said Last Week There Would Be No Fresh Cuts

## Reagan's New Budget to Reflect Caution

By STEVEN R. WEISMAN

WASHINGTON — Three years in a row, President Reagan's budgets have been wrapped like gift packages, each in a fresh concept to strike the fancy of Congress and the public. The "new beginning" in 1981, emphasizing tax cuts, led to the "new federalism" in 1982, an elaborate scheme to transfer programs and tax resources to the states. In the budget proposed for fiscal year 1984, sent to Congress in February, a vast freeze on Federal spending was proposed.

This year, however, Mr. Reagan is planning a budget for fiscal year 1985 that even some advisers acknowledge is a hodgepodge of old ideas. Administration officials disclosed last week that there would be virtually no cuts in spending beyond those already put forward. Last year's so-called contingency tax is to be reintroduced in some form, and no major changes are planned in economic projections.

The Administration's caution rises from its long-standing budget dilemma, sharpened by the President's presumed re-election drive. Congressional concurrence with the Reagan tax cut and military spending increases, and resistance to some of the President's domestic spending cuts, have combined to produce Federal budget deficits near \$200 billion a year. On the one hand, the re-election campaign blames Democrats in Congress for excessive spending. On the other, Mr. Reagan is not himself asking for drastic reductions again because his Republican allies in Congress can't accept them. Senator Paul Laxalt, the Nevada Republican who is chairman of the re-election committee, said recently that "politically, we've cut to the bone."

### No Fireworks

The wariness could also explain this season's absence of executive-branch fireworks. Normally Christmas-time is marked by cries of alarm about programs on the chopping block. This year, many of those fights have been quietly stilled by Mr. Reagan's firm directive to the spending guidelines of the budget the White House sent Congress last year. "It turns out that the President is more prepared to hold the line on the budget than many of the people around him," a White House official said.

According to Reagan aides, Cabinet members joined the debate on whether to resubmit the cuts with three arguments. The first was the merits. For example, William D. Ruckelshaus, head of the Environmental Protection Agency, wants to restore funding to Carter Administration levels to cope with hazardous wastes and toxic substances. Second, they argued that Mr. Reagan could score political points by showing a willingness to spend. That evidently was the pitch from

Education Secretary Terrell H. Bell. Third, they said it was pointless to propose cuts Congress would inevitably reject. That practical approach was said to have been taken by Margaret M. Heckler, Secretary of Health and Human Services, who is trying to head off reductions for immunization of children, treatment of venereal disease and medical care for people exposed to toxic wastes.

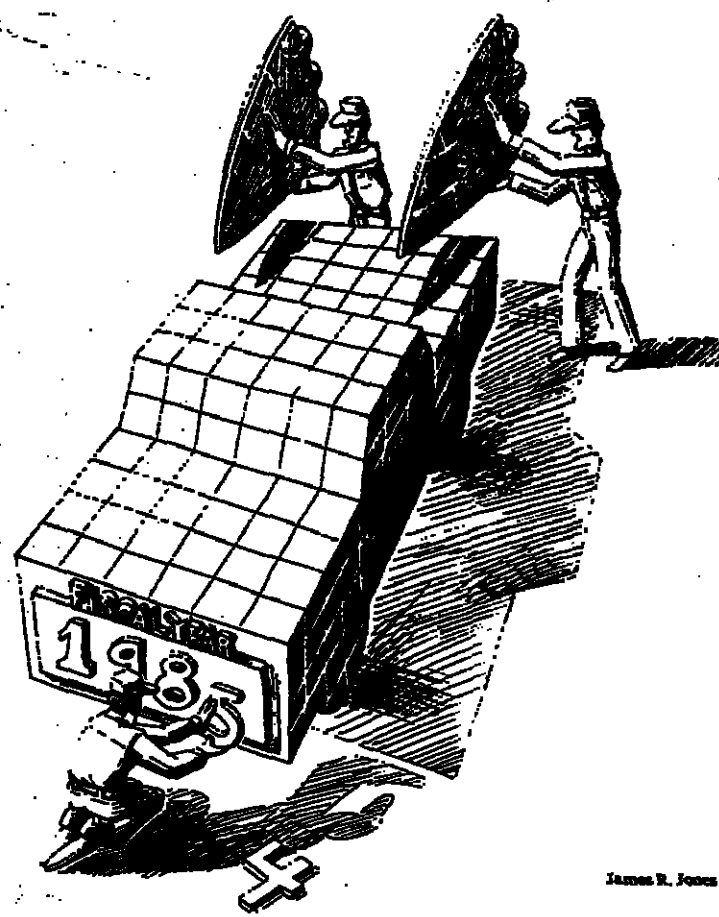
In the past, the Administration has been driven by theological disputes over economic projections. This year, Martin S. Feldstein, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, and Treasury Secretary Donald T. Regan, are reconciled to projecting steady growth in 1984. Indeed, there was little in last week's economic reports to throw the projection into question. Industrial output rose 0.8 percent in November, a gain more moderate than those of the spring and summer, but consistent with a maturing economic recovery that appears not to risk reigniting inflation. Producer prices were reported to have dropped 0.2 percent last month, virtually guaranteeing wholesale price inflation this year of less than 1 percent.

Where Mr. Feldstein and Mr. Regan disagree is on the peril that budgets pose for the recovery in 1985 and 1986. But for the purposes of the budget document the White House will submit to Congress in six weeks, the long-term growth question seems to have been resolved by a reported agreement to resubmit a tax increase component, effective in 1985 and contingent on Mr. Reagan's getting certain spending cuts.

### Maybe Taxes, Maybe Later

Mr. Reagan himself suggested last week that the Administration might well reach the point where spending had been cut as much as possible. It was "hard to tell with the recession," he said, "whether the tax structure that we have in place is sufficient to match what we think should be the spending outlay." He added that there might be "room there for some tax increases" once spending is brought down further.

In defense spending, Mr. Reagan has yet another political dilemma. His re-election thinking



James R. Jones

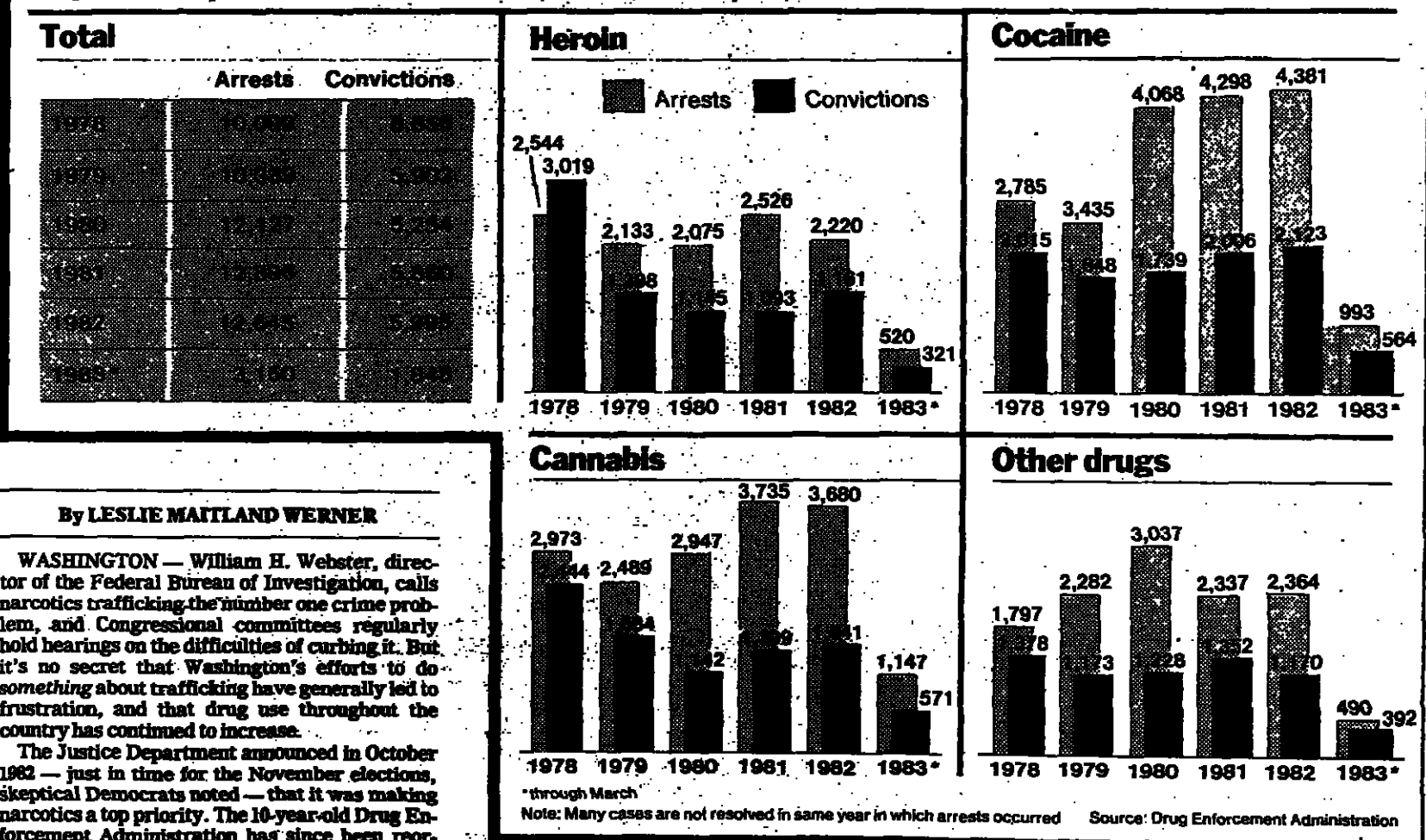
compels him to assert that he has succeeded in rebuilding American defenses. But the claim undercuts his demand for more military spending. Last week the President asserted that "our military forces are back on their feet and standing tall" and that the "window of vulnerability" with the Soviet Union had been "largely" closed. Yet Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger was given permission to request more than a 20 percent increase in spending authority for 1985.

Senior White House officials agree with Senator Laxalt that Mr. Weinberger is seeking a "rather lofty" increase that is unlikely to meet with Congress's approval. But meeting that political reality brings neither Congress nor the White House closer to grappling with what may be the basic fiscal reality. Economists from both parties agreed last week with Alice M. Rivlin, who directed the Congressional Budget Office until September and is now head of economic studies at the Brookings Institution. "Waiting until 1985 to take action on the deficit entails the risk of having to wait until after the next recession," she told the Senate Finance Committee.

## Drug War Is Mainly a 'Holding Action'

### Arrests and convictions in the drug trade

(Drug Enforcement Administration or D.E.A.-assisted operations; calendar years)



By LESLIE MAITLAND WERNER

WASHINGTON — William H. Webster, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, calls narcotics trafficking the number one crime problem, and Congressional committees regularly hold hearings on the difficulties of curbing it. But it's no secret that Washington's efforts to do something about trafficking have generally led to frustration, and that drug use throughout the country has continued to increase.

The Justice Department announced in October 1982 — just in time for the November elections, skeptical Democrats noted — that it was making narcotics a top priority. The 10-year-old Drug Enforcement Administration has since been reorganized and placed under the supervision of the F.B.I. And the bureau for the first time also began working on narcotics cases, committing more than 800 agents to them on a full-time basis.

Twelve new teams — Organized Crime Drug Enforcement Task Forces — were created to concentrate on narcotics rings managed by organized crime. These teams include a variety of Federal law enforcement agencies. According to Associate Attorney General D. Lowell Jensen, 975 agents and 132 prosecutors have been placed in the task forces. Taken together with the F.B.I. agents now working on narcotics, officials say there has been a doubling of agents assigned to the problem over the past two years.

But critics, including Representative Charles B. Rangel, the New York Democrat who heads the House Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control, insist that not nearly enough is being done. A former Federal prosecutor, Mr. Rangel says the "F.B.I. is incompatible with the mission of the D.E.A."

Others, like Senator Joseph R. Biden Jr., Democrat of Delaware, maintain that the Federal effort remains uncoordinated. Despite White House objections, a majority of Congress favors creation of a so-called "drug czar" to oversee the Federal narcotics effort. A proposal to create a Cabinet-level drug czar was included in a package of crime reform measures Congress approved last January. Although the President supported most provisions of the bill, Mr. Reagan — prompted by the Justice Department's insistence that creating such a position would be counterproductive — vetoed the legislation. A similar measure seems likely to be passed again in the

### new session of Congress

At least one Republican in Congress has also made life difficult for the Drug Enforcement Agency. Francis M. Mullen Jr., a former executive assistant director of the F.B.I., was named acting administrator in July 1981 but his confirmation was held up until a few weeks ago by Utah Republican Senator Orrin Hatch. Mr. Hatch had presided at confirmation hearings for Labor Secretary Raymond L. Donovan and believed that Mr. Mullen had failed to provide his committee with full information about allegations that Mr. Donovan had ties to organized crime. Not until last Oct. 7 — well beyond the announcement by a special prosecutor that the evidence didn't warrant prosecution — did Mr. Hatch declare himself satisfied.

### Zeroing in on the Mob

Now that he has been confirmed, Mr. Mullen says that the involvement of the F.B.I. — and especially its agents with accounting expertise — has enabled Government investigators to untangle complicated financial transactions that may lead to the top leaders of narcotics enterprises. According to Mr. Mullen, the number of wiretaps used in drug investigations by both the F.B.I. and the D.E.A. has increased substantially, reflecting the greater availability of agents to monitor electronic surveillance devices. Within the D.E.A., there have been changes, too. Mr. Mullen reorganized the agency to centralize control, eliminating a system of regional offices. He also stiffened the requirements for recruit-

ment, making college degrees mandatory for new agents, and reorganized the office responsible for investigating internal corruption, resulting in more than a score of cases against D.E.A. employees.

But the major change in the enforcement agency, Mr. Mullen said, was the doing away with quotas or arrest goals that in the past were mandated by D.E.A. for all of its regions and set an agency-wide goal of pursuing major traffickers. "In the past we concentrated — wrongly, I think, on arrests," he said. "Now we're concentrating on convictions, and convictions at the highest levels." The agency has also been seizing more assets — cash, houses, cars, airplanes, boats — from drug enterprises, more than doubling its seizures between 1981 and 1983.

The D.E.A. itself, however, is aware that it is intercepting just a small portion of the narcotics entering the country. In testimony a few days ago, Mr. Mullen said added resources for the Federal fight against narcotics were yielding results, but that "it takes months, often years" to identify a drug-trafficking organization, "to infiltrate it and subsequently to immobilize it." He said recent investigations by his agency had found "drug money laundering operations which process approximately \$1 million a day," creating "worldwide ramifications." In his view, "law enforcement is a holding action."

"We could be the answer if we had 100,000 drug agents," Mr. Mullen said. "But the real answer has to be eliminating the supply and the demand."

WEEK IN  
Fall

Consumers were...  
Looking into...  
Federal Reserve...



# Tokyo in New York: 5 Men of Power

By SUSAN CHIRA

**M**AMORU Tabuchi considers it a good week if he eats dinner at home twice. Most nights, the president of Mitsui's American subsidiary is driven in a chauffeured Cadillac to the Yale Club in midtown New York to pick up his wife, Setko, and begin an obligatory round of social engagements.

They may head for a reception at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel nearby, a small dinner party for visiting Japanese colleagues at the Kitcho Restaurant blocks away, or a lecture at the Japan Society, also in midtown. The schedule is often so heavy that the Tabuchis, who live in suburban Scarsdale, rent a suite at the Yale Club so that his wife can change clothes before parties—or between them.

Mr. Tabuchi heads the American operations of Mitsui & Company, a

situations as the Harvard or Yale Club. They are members of Wall Street luncheon clubs, suburban country clubs and fund-raising committees for Carnegie Hall, the Museum of Modern Art and the Metropolitan Museum. They, or delegated subordinates, have learned to lobby Congress and to entertain local political leaders, like Mayor Koch or Governor Cuomo.

All of which is quite different from the golfing on back home. Young Japanese executives are taught to be reserved and to live in their company's shadow. In social interactions, their company's name is always mentioned before their own. Mr. Terasawa of Nomura Securities describes the Japanese formula for executive success as "un, don, kon"—un for luck, don for diligence, and kon for patience, he said.

In America, Mr. Terasawa, Mr.



The New York Times/William S. Sano, Sara Krulwich

Yoshio Terasawa, left, chairman of Nomura Securities International, and Kenji Tamiya, above, president of the Sony Corporation of America

large Japanese trading conglomerate. His busy evening schedule reflects his position at the summit of Japanese businessmen in the United States. Within this self-contained world, the 58-year-old Mr. Tabuchi and a handful of top executives have the sort of fame and influence that Lee A. Iacocca of Chrysler or Walter B. Wriston of Citicorp have among Americans.

Other top Japanese in the United States today are Kenji Tamiya, president of the Sony Corporation of America; Yoshio Terasawa, chairman of the United States branch of Nomura Securities, Japan's largest securities firm; Tatsuo Yoshida, chairman of the Industrial Bank of Japan Trust Company; and Takeo Kondo, president of Mitsubishi International Corporation, Japan's other giant trading company.

The prominence of these five executives—all of them with headquarters in New York—stems partly from the prominence of their companies. But they are also a special breed: the relatively rare Japanese executive who is at home with American culture and business practices. Each is on his second or third assignment to this country, fluent in English. Most have spent some time at an American university.

Though their corporate lives are separate, their social lives often are not. They eat together at midtown restaurants like Kitcho, Mitsukoshi or Shimbashi; they chat with one another during receptions at the Waldorf, a hotel with the prestige and stability that they seem to prefer. Some of them drink together at Kaoru, Tono or Gin-Ray, piano bars with Japanese hostesses. They rotate as chairmen of the power centers of the Japanese community here, such as the Nippon Club and the Japanese Chamber of Commerce. To impress their American business contacts they join—when they can—such in-

Tabuchi and the others march to a different time. They consider themselves unofficial emissaries representing not only their companies but also their country. "In Japan, business leaders would be trying to defend only their own companies," said Yoshi Tsurumi, professor of international business at Baruch College of City University of New York. "But here they are forced to be involved in community image-building. This dual role makes a top leadership position here not only visible, but much more important."

For the older of these prominent men, who were teenagers during World War II, the pressure to assimilate into their new country was intense before retirement. For the younger, the time in New York might be a prelude to a top job back home.

"Starting about 10 years ago, the major companies in Japan recognized that the New York post was one of the most important in the entire corporation," said Jonathan Mason, executive director of the Japan Fund, a cultural society. "The man who is put in the New York post is usually one of the top four or five men in the company. His experience here will not isolate him but will enhance his chances of becoming the head of the company back in Japan. They send all their best people here."

## Yoshio Terasawa

Nomura Securities

"Terry" Terasawa, as he is known to American friends, is one Japanese who breaks through the practiced blandness that most of his colleagues don for Americans. By Japanese standards, he is even a bit flamboyant—outspoken, convivial and opinionated.

Mr. Terasawa, who is 52, was the first Japanese to buy a seat on the New York Stock Exchange. His com-

pany, Nomura Securities, paid \$285,000 in 1981 after the Japanese Government lifted restrictions on the purchase of American stocks by its nationals and the New York Stock Exchange lifted a ban on foreign membership. He celebrated the purchase by stepping onto the floor of the exchange, minutes after becoming a member, and buying 30,000 shares of General Motors, for a mutual fund managed by Nomura.

"If Japanese people become shareholders of General Motors, and if the American people become shareholders of Toyota, hopefully that will soften the conflict of trade between our countries," Mr. Terasawa said. "I live in a house that helps him look after some of his children, who have chosen to stay in the United States for their education."

Mr. Terasawa's American operation has been trading between \$20 million and \$30 million worth of stock a day, mostly for American institutions investing in Japanese stocks. Nomura also brokers American stocks for Japanese investors back home.

Mr. Terasawa, who also made history in 1970 by becoming the first Japanese member of the Boston Stock Exchange, readily reveals that his salary is \$300,000 a year. The Japanese are reluctant to discuss salary, but Professor Tsurumi of City University estimates that \$200,000 to \$300,000 is a representative range for the top Japanese executives in this country. In addition these executives receive an annual bonus, equal to about six months' pay, plus living allowances that permit them to occupy luxury apartments and suburban homes. Mr. Terasawa lives in a large Fifth Avenue apartment.

Like most top Japanese executives here, Mr. Terasawa has studied in the United States. In 1966, he spent a year as a Fulbright scholar at the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School of Business, then returned to Japan to work as a securities salesman for Nomura. His first posting in

New York was from 1968 to 1975. He returned in 1980 to assume his present post as chairman of Nomura Securities International, the American subsidiary.

Mr. Terasawa's American operation—based mostly in New York—includes 150 American employees and 46 Japanese and accounts for about 5 percent of Nomura's worldwide revenue. It also fielded the championship baseball team this year in the Japanese community's fierce inter-company league, beating Enka restaurant for the title.

Mr. Terasawa's business success has subjected him and his family to more than the usual stresses of relocation. A live-in housekeeper helps him look after some of his children, who have chosen to stay in the United States for their education.

His wife now lives in Tokyo with their two youngest children. Like many Japanese schoolchildren with parents stationed in the United States, they have returned to Japan for high school because few top-ranking Japanese corporations hire graduates of foreign colleges, and few top Japanese universities accept graduates of foreign high schools.

## Kenji Tamiya

Sony Corporation

Kenji Tamiya, the 49-year-old Sony president, speaks of his early career with mock bravado. He was a "genius salesman" in Japan, he says, peddling Sony's array of TV sets and consumer electronic products before he went abroad in 1963. That knack at salesmanship played a role in promotion of the Walkman, one of Sony's most spectacular successes in the United States. Mr. Tamiya's strategy: innovate. The new, smaller Super Walkman, introduced this fall, is such an innovation.

But Sony's video cassette recorder, the Betamax, has lost market share in this country, where Sony takes in 25 percent of its worldwide revenues. As a result, Sony earnings fell last year and again in this year's first half. Struggling against the downturn, Mr. Tamiya is pushing to expand beyond the consumer market here into products industrial use. His scattered American operations employ 6,000 people. Some 120 are Japanese.

New York has been home to the Sony chief for 10 of his 15 years abroad, though his first assignment, in 1963, was to South America. Five years later, he established a Sony subsidiary in Hawaii, then managed operations in Chicago and Los Angeles.

Mr. Tamiya, who lives with his wife and daughter in Cliffside Park, N.J., is unusual in his lack of both a housekeeper and a chauffeur—two common perks among top Japanese executives in this country. He prefers to drive his car to work, he said, and his wife refuses outside help even though the Tamiyas often entertain at home.

His 16-year-old son attends Doshisha High School in Kyoto, and his daughter, 13, born in Chicago, attends the Japanese School of New York. Both children are bilingual. "When they speak to each other they speak in English, but we have made it a rule to speak in Japanese to them," he said.

## Tatsuo Yoshida

Industrial Bank of Japan

When Tatsuo Yoshida, 52, is asked why American banks in Japan have not won as many local customers as they would like, he tells them it's because Americans are intolerant of Japanese banking ways.

"It seems to me that some American bankers are not satisfied unless we in Japan have exactly the same banking system as in the United States," said Mr. Yoshida, the chairman of the Industrial Bank of Japan Trust Company. "Several years ago, the Japanese did not have certificates of deposit. Now we allow them in Japan, but we have some restrictions on amounts and terms that do not exist here in the States. Gradually, restrictions and regulations are going to come off, but it might take some time to harmonize both systems."

Mr. Yoshida speaks as one who can run a bank in either country. His first exposure to American banking came in 1965, when the bank sent him to New York to work as a trainee at the Morgan Guaranty Trust Company. He returned to New York in 1980, after a stint in Tokyo as a top executive in the international finance division and after "surviving a very tough and difficult course" at Harvard Business School's Advanced Management Training Program.

As head of the bank's American operations, his efforts are concentrated on financing trade with Japan: for example, Chrysler Corporation's past purchases of Mitsubishi autos, vehicles Chrysler has sold under its own model names.

Mr. Yoshida said he and his wife have learned a great deal about America from their Park Avenue neighbors. Their two daughters attend American schools—New York University and Sacred Heart High School.

Mr. Yoshida serves both as chairman of the Industrial Bank of Japan Trust Company—a New York State-chartered bank with \$1.6 billion in assets—and as the head of the New York agency for the parent bank. The agency, with \$3 billion in assets, handles operations in the United States, Central and South America. All together, Mr. Yoshida

oversees about 170 employees in the United States, 40 of them Japanese.

Mr. Yoshida, too, spends much of his time after work either entertaining visitors from the home office or attending obligatory receptions.

## Mamoru Tabuchi

Mitsui &amp; Company

Mamoru Tabuchi, the president of Mitsui & Company U.S.A., arrived at Ohio State University in 1953 as a Mitsui trainee. He had been sent for a year of graduate work to learn about American entrepreneurship.

At that time, he recalled, "Japan was trying very hard to stand up on our two feet after the war. We had to learn a lot from the United States."

Mr. Tabuchi, who was a teen-ager for most of World War II, said he was struck by the kindness and generosity of Middle Westerners toward Japanese so soon after the war.

Now, 30 years later and on his third assignment in New York, Mr. Tabuchi sees an America that is less strong, less omniscient. "We are having a reverse situation," he said. "I feel very strongly about the debt that we owe to the United States."

Under Mr. Tabuchi, Mitsui has become involved in a number of civic projects, among them summer visits to Japan for children of Mitsui's 500 American employees and a two-week teacher exchange to give American teachers "a kind of a friendly feeling for Japan."

As a businessman, Mr. Tabuchi has been building Mitsui's direct investment in United States companies, adding to the dozens of corporations worldwide that Mitsui owns, controls or trades for. Its major investment here is in Alumax Inc., an aluminum producer.

Mr. Tabuchi, completing 18 months in his present post, lives in Scarsdale with his wife and three daughters, all students at Manhattanville College. Two daughters are American citizens, born during his second assignment in New York, from 1962 to 1967. He is chairman of the Japanese Chamber of Commerce here.

## Takeo Kondo

Mitsubishi International

Because Takeo Kondo's daughter and his youngest grandson have American citizenship, Mr. Kondo, 61, feels "at home" like coming "home" when he travels to the United States.

He first came here in 1954, to open an office for Mitsubishi in Los Angeles, but because the Japanese Government still tightly controlled foreign exchange, he couldn't get the funds to bring over his family for 15 months.

"The living was not so easy then," said Mr. Kondo, who returned to this country in July for his current assignment, as president of Mitsubishi International Corporation, the trading company's American subsidiary. He and his wife have a spacious 26th-floor Fifth Avenue apartment.

Mr. Kondo, whose salary is \$200,000 a year, is a Buddhist, but his wife graduated from a Christian school in Kobe, and he said her exposure to other religions has helped him to understand Americans better.

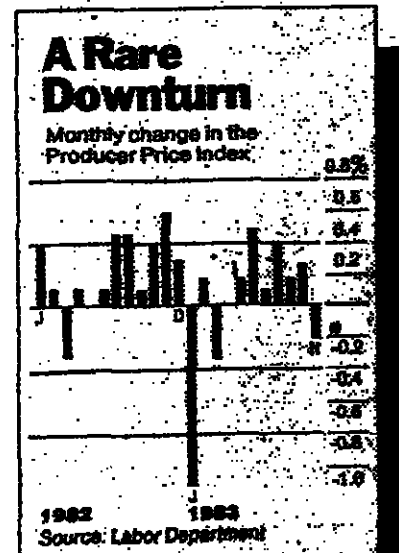
Takeo Kondo began his career at Mitsubishi as an aircraft engineer, and his 1954 assignment was to seek connections to the American aircraft industry. Now Mitsubishi is building jet airplanes with American labor in San Angelo, Tex. It has 15 offices in the United States, 800 employees and is among the top five exporters of American goods. Its American subsidiary registers \$12 billion in trade transactions annually.

## WEEK IN BUSINESS

# Falling Prices (And Other Joys)

Consumers were still spending, businesses were still prospering and inflation was still under control through the end of November. A slew of indicators on the nation's economy underlined the fact that the recovery is still on track and that seasonally adjusted merriment is in order. Prices at the wholesale level actually fell in November, leading to what will be the best year for wholesale prices since 1964. A 1 percent drop in energy and food prices pushed the Producer Price Index down two-tenths of 1 percent. Retail sales jumped far beyond economists' expectations, rising 1.9 percent in November, while consumer installment debt—such as credit card buying and auto loans—rose by a record \$4.89 billion in October. Strong auto sales were behind both statistics, and the Big Three reported that dealers continued to move vehicles in December. Sales were up 21.1 percent over the year before in the first 10 days of the month.

Looking into their crystal balls, Reagan Administration economists see more moderate economic growth in 1984. The White House predicts that inflation-adjusted gross national product will rise 4.5 percent and that unemployment will dip below 8 percent. What bothers Administration officials, however, are the actions of the Federal Reserve. The Fed has kept



the growth of the money supply fairly tight in recent weeks, and the White House fears this might shut off economic growth and push up unemployment in the weeks just before Election Day 1984.

Fears of tight monetary policy battered the credit markets through most of the week, as interest rates rose and prices fell. Even after the Fed announced a \$5.5 billion jump in the money supply—which was ex-

pected because of Social Security payments and other seasonal factors—rates remained firm. The stock market was also disquieted by the rising interest rates. The Dow Jones industrial average fell throughout the week as well, closing down almost 18 points at 1,242.17. The sagging market was also a result of year-end investor selling in order to register capital gains or losses for tax purposes.

Argentina's new president, Raúl Alfonsín, moved quickly to deal with the country's \$40 billion debt problem. He asked the country's creditors to defer for six months all debt. The sums are not small—\$3.5 billion in overdue interest and new interest due between now and June 30, as well as the renegotiation of \$9 billion in debt that was due last week. The creditors indicated they might cooperate.

If Superior Oil is up for sale, then Gulf Oil might be interested. So said James Lee, chief executive of Gulf. A \$4.5 billion acquisition might be one way to discourage T. Boone Pickens Jr. of Mesa Petroleum from pursuing his Gulf takeover bid. It would also give Gulf much needed oil and gas reserves and give Howard Keck, former Superior Oil chairman, a buyer for his shares. Gulf currently has about \$6 billion in bank credits at hand, but analysts thought the price

for Superior would have to come down for a deal to be struck.

A Farewell, William Agee, who headed Bendix before its merger into Allied, has left the Allied board, citing "the growing concern I have felt as my efforts to contribute have been discouraged."

What is a bank? The Federal Reserve is altering the definition to close a loophole that has permitted numerous nonbank companies to enter the banking business by purchasing a bank and spinning off its checking account and commercial lending operations. Under a 1966 law, that legally alters the status of the institution, even though other bank-like lending such as purchasing commercial paper, certificates of deposit and bankers' acceptances can continue. The Fed unanimously voted to include those transactions under commercial lending and to define NOW accounts as checking accounts. The ruling affects companies such as Dreyfus, Prudential, Beneficial Finance and J. C. Penney, which have acquired banks in recent months.

Bad real-estate and agriculture loans are taking their toll on the Crocker National Bank of California. The bank said it will report a \$7 million loss in the current quarter and a \$10 million loss for the year.

## The New York Stock Exchange

### MOST ACTIVE STOCKS

WEEK ENDED DECEMBER 16, 1983

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng
ATT	17,954,000	63%	+
ATT w	17,885,300	18%	+
AExp	13,335,800	30%	-
IBM	4,827,200	120%	-
Exxon	3,544,300	37%	-
Pfizer	3,237,200	35%	-
Chrysler	3,213,700	26%	-
RCA	3,209,100	33%	-
Xerox	3,003,000	51%	+
Beat Fd	2,900,800	31%	-
N Semi	2,847,900	15%	-
Diam S	2,685,300	19%	-
Bart Tr	2,588,900	22	-
Mer Ly	2,558,300	32	-
Gen El	2,438,300	55%	-

### MARKET DIARY

Advances	Declines	Total Issues
622	1,087	2,246
New Highs	81	131
New Lows	144	136

### VOLUME

Company	Last Week	Prev. Week
Total Sales	425,586,067	20,945,704,057
Same Per. 1982	382,283,231	15,894,657,308

### WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES

High	Low	Last	Change
111.4	108.8	109.2	-1.82
100.8	97.5	98.1	-2.27
47.4	46.7	46.8	-0.48
84.5	82.5	82.9	-1.97
95.6	93.4	93.8	-1.54

### New York Stock Exchange

Company	Last Week	Prev. Week
Indust	111.4	108.8
Transp	100.8	97.5
Util	47.4	46.7
Finance	84.5	82.5
Composite	95.6	93.4

### Standard & Poor's

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng
400 Indust	187.7	180.7	182.8
20 Transp	32.1	30.6	30.9
40 Util	68.0	66.3	66.7
40 Financial	18.4	17.6	17.9
500 Stocks	166.8	160.6	162.3

### Dow Jones

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng
30 Indust	1269.1	1231.2	1242.1
20 Transp	611.8	582.7	590.1
15 Util	135.0	130.8	131.0
65 Comb	509.6	492.2	498.6

### The American Stock Exchange

#### MOST ACTIVE STOCKS

WEEK ENDED DEC. 16, 1983

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng
Wang B	1,312,400	32%	+
Amdih s	80,800	19%	+
Triffir	796,300	1%	...
EchoB n	78,080	7%	-
DomeP	734,400	3%	+
DorGes	622,800	20%	-
Vrbm s	548,500	18	+
Grangr	506,200	24%	-
Cypres	494,000	2%	-
Pellaw	454,300	11%	+

### MARKET DIARY

Advances	Declines	Total Issues
349	467	930
New Highs	34	42
New Lows	52	27

### VOLUME

Company	Last Week	Prev. Week
Total Sales	34,822,080	2,018,055,324
Same Per. 1982	33,584,840	1,275,487,860



# The New York Times

Founded in 1851

ADOLPH S. OCHS, Publisher 1896-1935  
ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER, Publisher 1935-1961  
ORVILLE DRYFOOS, Publisher 1961-1963

ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER, Publisher  
A. M. ROSENTHAL, Executive Editor  
SEYMOUR TOPPING, Managing Editor  
ARTHUR GELB, Deputy Managing Editor  
JAMES L. GREENFIELD, Assistant Managing Editor  
LOUIS SILVERSTEIN, Assistant Managing Editor  
MAX FRANKEL, Editorial Page Editor  
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## If There's One Hungry American...

What should a sensible politician say to calm the flap that Edwin Meese, the White House counselor, caused with his clumsy comments about hunger and cheating?

Here's what William Safire of The Times recommended last Sunday: "'As long as one American is hungry... then we have unfinished business in this country!' (applause)."

Here's what President Reagan said four days later: "If there is one person in this country hungry, that is one too many, and we're going to do what we can to alleviate that situation."

It's gratifying to see the President pay tribute to a columnist's sagacity, but the real-life version merits no applause. When it comes to hunger, this Administration seems determined to put its foot in its own mouth and less food in the mouths of people who need it.

Edwin Meese may resist "anecdotal" evidence of hunger, but Mr. Meese's President has not hesitated to spread the anecdote—the canard—about a man who supposedly used \$10 in food stamps to buy an orange and then used the change to buy a bottle of vodka. But it is hunger, not anecdotes, that's important here—hunger, and what any Administration can fairly be expected to do about it.

Although Republican and Democratic Presidents have pledged to end hunger, there will always be some hunger. Some people won't know how to secure benefits, others will fall through the cracks.

Mr. Reagan insists that his Administration is

spending more to feed the hungry than any before. Of course it is. For one thing, food costs more than ever before. Recession and high unemployment mean more people have qualified for food assistance than ever before.

Mr. Meese may sneer at anecdotal evidence of hunger. But he knows perfectly well that every one-point increase in unemployment means a million more people who need food stamps. And Congress has ordered the reluctant Reaganites to spend more than ever before.

As it is, the Congressional Budget Office calculates that because of Administration cuts, food stamp spending, though higher, will be \$7 billion less in this term than otherwise. Child nutrition spending will be \$5.3 billion less. And all in the face of increased need.

None of this means the President is cruel. It does mean he is unwilling to admit his priorities. No one can perfectly administer a food stamp program with 20 million recipients. Even 99 percent perfection might leave 200,000 possible cases of fraud. The question is, On which side would the President err: Would he rather put up with some infuriating, irreducible amount of cheating as a price of conquering hunger? Or would he prefer no cheating and some hunger?

So far, the Administration has much preferred fighting fraud. Now the President says one person hungry is one person too many. We'll find out from his budget next month whether he means it.

## Space Station in the Ballot Box

The National Aeronautics and Space Administration has long lobbied for a manned space station. Come election year, it may get its \$20 billion wish.

Are there that many votes in space? Not usually. But Senator John Glenn, a former astronaut, is a space enthusiast, and Walter Mondale, when a senator, vigorously opposed the space shuttle. Suddenly the White House finds a bold new space initiative very appealing.

Last year, President Reagan's science adviser, George Keyworth, fended off NASA's space station as "just plain totally premature." Recently, he challenged the agency to dream up something more visionary. Both times, his criticisms had weight. However tempting it may be to repeat the technological triumph of the Apollo moon-landing project, a big space station would be just an orbiting white elephant unless its purpose were carefully defined.

One justification for a manned space station is the chance to perform certain manufacturing processes in zero gravity. But NASA's efforts to find in-

dustrial sponsors have been limp. Unless industrial interests are represented from the start, manufacturing in space has a dim future. NASA has also done little to enlist the skills and financial support of the Europeans and the Japanese.

Mr. Keyworth has a point as well in chiding NASA for a lack of imagination. Its concept of a space station is more a means than an end. Scientists oppose it because they fear that, like the shuttle, it will squeeze space research funds out of NASA's budget. There is "no scientific need for this space station during the next 20 years," the National Academy of Sciences has said. The Pentagon is happy for the station to be built, on NASA's budget, but it, too, has no pressing use for it.

Why not, then, first specify the purposes and users of any space station, and then decide whether it should be manned or unmanned? For the White House, at this stage, to embrace NASA's seven-passenger platform in the sky would be more a leap into the dark than into space.

## Putting the Arm on Miss Liberty

The Statue of Liberty's right arm, the one that holds the torch, has been so shaky since the Black Tom munitions explosion of 1916 that ordinary visitors are not allowed to climb it. That's only one of many frailties that trouble the 97-year-old statue and the unused Ellis Island immigration station, which together constitute the Statue of Liberty National Monument.

Proper refurbishing of both will cost \$200 million, more than a third of the National Park Service's annual budget. Washington is unwilling to spend that kind of money. The preservation effort therefore depends on private contributions. They should be encouraged—provided the Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island Foundation, which is raising the funds, guards against tawdry commercialism.

The statue and island symbolize the nation's willingness—despite some shameful exceptions—to welcome strangers from abroad. Fund raising generates favorable publicity as well as money.

When the French collected private subscriptions for the statue, President Cleveland insisted

that funds for its pedestal also be raised privately. Schoolchildren contributed a major part, and they will be solicited again next year. Equally appropriate are the appeals to foundations and ethnic organizations, which have so far brought about \$50 million.

But much of the money will have to come from corporations, many of which want something more than a tax deduction in return. Some offer steel and other construction materials. Others pledge money and spend their own funds on advertising that links their names to the statue. Thus a good thing for Miss Liberty becomes a very good thing for American Express and other companies. Even when the ads are tasteful, there is a danger they will overshadow the cause itself.

It is hoped that the statue will be renovated in time for its 100th anniversary in 1986. Ellis Island's repair and conversion into a museum of immigration history will take longer. The campaign is off to a generally dignified start. But let all remember, as the pressure builds, that no restoration is worth putting a national monument on the market.

### Topics

## Correcting the Past

### Varieties of Flattery

Suddenly, there's a plague of plagiarism. Galileo, the founder of experimental physics, has been charged with stealing an important idea from one of his students by an Indiana University historian. Richard Nelson, author of "Richard Nelson's American Cooking," has been accused—by him—of lifting many recipes from other cookbooks, including a recipe for deviled crab from James Beard, who wrote the foreword to Mr. Nelson's book. And in Cleveland, The Plain Dealer has reprimanded a reporter for plagiarizing part of a 1981 column by Carl Rowan.

Plagiarism, the theft of intellectual property, is a bizarre crime because it's so detectable and so hard for the thief to deny when caught. But the poor odds are evidently no sure deterrent; perhaps they are not as adverse as they seem.

Articles in the obscurer scientific journals are so little read that even blatant plagiarism has proved hard to detect. Galileo's student, who proposed an idea about the phases of

Venus, apparently did not protest the alleged theft.

Creators in all fields draw on a common pool of ideas, and the line between legitimate borrowing and theft may not always be clear. Imitation can be taken as flattery, but plagiarism takes imitation to extremes. The plagiarist is a thief, not a sycophant. But a world in which ideas were never recycled under new owners' names would have a lot more trees.

### Still on Georgia's Mind

A posthumous pardon for Leo Frank cannot erase the memory of an infamous lynching in 1915 that loosed a wave of anti-Semitic terror in Atlanta. But the state's Board of Pardons and Paroles can reduce the memory's bitterness by approving a petition to clear Mr. Frank's name.

He was accused of murdering 13-year-old Mary Phagan in the factory in which he worked as superintendent. He was a Jew from New York, and this counted against him more than any evidence at his trial. When

his death sentence was commuted, a mob took his life, then turned its fury on the homes and shops of Georgia's 3,000 Jews, half of whom eventually moved elsewhere.

Not only Jews were affected. A revived Ku Klux Klan seized on the case to spread its gospel of hate through region and nation in a campaign shamefully abetted by Senator Tom Watson, a Georgia populist and bigot.

Decades passed, and the Frank case was forgotten. But not by a missing witness: Alonzo Mann, who had been an office boy in the same factory. He had seen the janitor carrying Mary Phagan's limp body, but kept a terrified silence when his life was threatened.

Mr. Mann's account was finally published a year ago by a Tennessee newspaper, which tested his veracity and found him truthful. "I pray to God that they will give Leo Frank a pardon," says Mr. Mann. "I feel it would be the Christian thing to do. He did not commit that crime."

The Board of Pardons can at last write a decent end to an appalling episode.

### Letters

## Disjointed Command Structure's Chief Problems

To the Editor:

John Kester's Nov. 19 Op-Ed article, "America's Strongest Military Officer?" raises an issue of great consequence: the balance between civilian and military authority. Unfortunately, his analysis is flawed and his conclusions are badly off the mark.

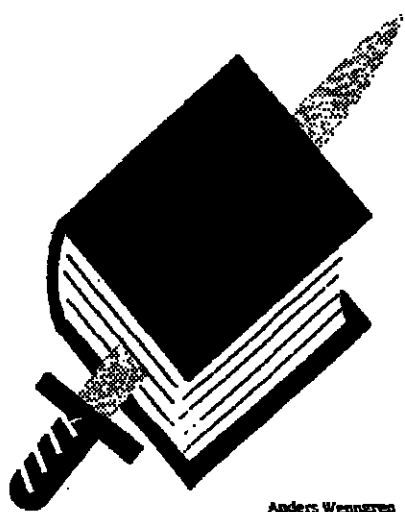
Mr. Kester is reacting to a bill—passed by the House and to be considered by the Senate next year—that is designed to correct glaring weaknesses in our present system for planning and managing military operations and providing military advice to civilian leadership. What he calls a "monstrosity" and which he suggests raises basic constitutional questions is in fact a modest piece of legislation at best. Rather than going too far, it doesn't go far enough.

Mr. Kester attacks three provisions of the bill.

The first would make the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff a member of the National Security Council, a move Mr. Kester claims would make him co-equal with the Secretary of Defense and thus undercut civilian control.

In fact, the chairman is already a de facto member of the N.S.C. I have attended many meetings of the Council; the chairman was always there

and participated actively. This has been true of all recent administrations. Indeed, it is hard to imagine this senior advisory committee on security issues meeting without benefit



of our nation's senior military officer's participation and insights.

A second provision of the bill would permit the chairman to give advice in his "own right," which Mr. Kester claims would undermine the Secretary's authority. In fact, this language would give the chairman independ-

ence of the committee he chairs, made up of the chiefs of staff of the military services. At present, the chairman must represent the other chiefs' diverse and often parochial views. He is not empowered to provide independent and uncompromised advice.

The result is a major weakness of the present structure: it is incapable of providing useful advice when service interests or priorities are perceived to be at stake (which is virtually all the time). The change would directly benefit the Secretary of Defense, not threaten his authority.

The third provision that Mr. Kester questions would make the chairman the transmitter of orders from the Secretary or the President to the unified and specified commands which actually direct our combat units.

Again, this would only ratify current practice. The Joint Chiefs now are the conduit for commands, a procedure specified by a 1958 Secretary of Defense directive. Making the chairman, rather than the Joint Chiefs, the intermediary is a change of little consequence. It would not, as Mr. Kester asserts, give the chairman the right to "command," originating orders on his own behalf. Indeed, the bill specifies that the chairman "supervises" the unified and specified commands; only the President and the Defense Secretary command the armed forces.

The bill's overall impact is modest and in the view of many so limited that they question its value. But the shortcomings of our military command structure are real and substantial. They center on two problems:

• The cumbersome nature of present arrangements and diffused responsibility. Our past experiences using this system (witness the Desert One and Mayaguez incidents) give little reason to hope the system would work well in a major crisis or conflict.

• The inability of the present military "committee" structure to provide civilian authorities with unambiguous advice on controversial issues or to set priorities among military programs when choices must be made.

The problems of the present military command structure deserve careful and thoughtful attention by the Senate. It is to be hoped its deliberations will be much more far reaching, getting to the heart of the shortcomings of the present system. J.C.S. reform is not a threat to our democratic institutions. Rather, it aims to make the present system more responsive and useful to civilian authority.

PHILIP A. ODEEN

Washington, Dec. 6, 1983

The writer was a member of the National Security Council from 1971 to 1973.

## The Leaders Our Political Process Breeds

To the Editor:

Thomas Watson's call for a National Security Commission [Op-Ed Nov. 29] should be discussed long and hard, but not for its stated purpose, which is to provide America with clear, wise and nonpartisan findings, views and advice. It should be studied because this successful and respected international businessman and former Ambassador to the Soviet Union has found it necessary to suggest that our political process has not worked out a saner approach to avoiding war than an escalating nuclear arms race. And we must ask ourselves, Why?

Hasn't it taken us six Presidents in 40 years and 20 Congresses to get us here? Surely, plain old politics does not seem to be the issue.

Haven't we had Foreign Relations Committees and the National Academy of Sciences and Nuclear Regulatory Commissions and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and a House of Representatives and a Senate and think tanks galore? Surely structure is not the issue.

The issue is whom to believe and whom to follow. Who is our leader? Are we to follow a blue-ribbon committee? If the answer is yes, then we

do not need a Congress or a President. I just cannot accept the implicit premise that we have built a nuclear nightmare because all those leaders we sent to Washington are partisan or political.

Isn't it just possible that most of those sent believed in a Soviet threat and were totally unprepared to offer sensible alternatives? That we send people to Washington with the wrong issues—the local issues and not the national, and international issues? That we ask our Congressmen to become involved in so many issues that they don't become well-informed about any one important issue? Isn't it just possible that we should begin to redirect Congressional focus? Change its priorities?

Isn't it just possible that we should reconsider the qualifications for senators and representatives and, next time we vote, make sure that they are "widely considered wise" that they are "persons of great personal stature and experience"?

No, Thomas Watson, it's not structure, it's stature that we need. In the meantime, I vote in the affirmative!

JAMES F. MCGUIRK

Loudonville, N.Y., Dec. 7, 1983

## Quandary in Beirut

To the Editor:

A dispatch from Beirut in the Dec. 9 issue of The Times illustrated the futility of our present position in Lebanon. According to the dispatch, the U.S. marines, fired upon by unidentified forces, fired back until they observed a white flag being waved from a building in the area under attack. Seeing the white flag, the marines ceased firing. Then what? The story does not say.

In any other war, the marines would have taken those waving the white flag prisoner and occupied their position. But in Beirut, having no definable objective and certainly no military objective, the marines simply stopped firing, giving their assailants the opportunity to recover for another assault.

Poor marines, charged with executing a war without objective.

GEORGE D. SUSSMAN  
Delmar, N.Y., Dec. 10, 1983

## Beneficiaries of Women's Earlier 'Shrillness'

To the Editor:

I don't necessarily take issue with the main portion of Kati Marton's piece concerning the status of women in Great Britain ["American Women's Good Luck," Op-Ed Dec. 10]. I do object, though, to the slightly derogatory implication in her comparison of the qualities possessed by today's American female with the "shrillness of the so-called liberated woman of the 70's."

I believe that most women today are quietly enjoying the benefits won subsequent to the activism of the 1970's. Those battles required a certain kind of woman in the forefront: she didn't sit back with the majority, who either accepted their unjust status or rationalized it away; neither did she join the minority of fortunate, headstrong and talented females who ignore the women's movement because they don't need it.

Many of the battles won by those "shrill" women may have been unpleasant to the ear, and they may

have turned a lot of people off, especially men, but at least they alerted people, especially women, to the need for change. These battles had to be fought, however gauche at times, and by women who were products of their society, who at the beginning of the women's movement were perhaps uncertain and male-oriented. There may have been shrillness, but at least something was being done.

Many of these strident women of the 70's have evolved into the coolly confident women of the 80's whom Kati Marton admires, as she should. And these older women are joined by younger women, also confident, who take the gains for granted.

Both women and men should admire what we have become, but we've still got a long way to go, and I don't think we ought to belittle one of the steps in our evolution. I'm not sure if Kati Marton meant to leave this impression.

JOAN BERNSTEIN  
New York, Dec. 10, 1983

## American Steel Held Hostage to Problems of Foreign Nations

To the Editor:

We at Bethlehem Steel are deeply concerned over your Nov. 28 editorial "Protect Steel, Damage All" because it was wrong on the facts, wrong on the law and wrong on public policy considerations.

Actions by foreign government-owned and government-subsidized steel producers are severely damaging the American steel industry, not because they have natural comparative advantages but because their governments would rather export unemployment and investment problems than deal with them at home.

You call Bethlehem's plant old and inefficient. I invite you to tour our facilities and then make a judgment. And you continue: "Efficient facilities and low labor costs, combined with exchange rates that favor imports, allow foreigners to sell steel at very low prices and still make a profit."

Certainly, the Japanese are noted as leaders in steel-making efficiency and, for whatever reason, are benefiting from favorable exchange rates. Yet recent issues of Metal Bulletin note that "Japan's big five steelmakers are reported to have made unprecedentedly large losses in the first half of the current fiscal year" and Brazil's steel companies will "register unprecedented losses."

Brazil is engaged in flagrant dump-

ing in the U.S. market, as indicated by recent 31 to 79 percent preliminary dumping margins found against Brazilian plates. Similar situations exist for other third-world countries.

On the matter of law, I am incredulous at your suggestion "Good law or not, more protection would be bad policy." Are you advocating selective law enforcement by promulgating "all the laws The Times determines fit to go force"? Bethlehem and other domestic steel producers are good corporate citizens entitled to operate within and depend upon the enforcement of our laws. If we are not allowed redress under law, where do we go?

On public policy, you quote Ambassador Brock with an appropriate description of the steel trade in light of the extensive government involvement in steel industries throughout the world: "This is a hydra. New heads come up every day."

There is absolutely no free trade in steel anywhere in the world, and the American steel industry is being held hostage to problems and conditions in

other parts of the world. Limited ad hoc measures by the U.S. Government have not been enough. What is needed is a coherent set of policies to restore order to a situation that is completely out of control.

If we are to continue to have a viable steel industry, steps must be taken soon. A wide range of actions is appropriate, from a quota bill to individual trade cases to reform of existing trade laws. Bethlehem and others are seriously considering the filing of a comprehensive 201 Petition, which, under our trade laws, authorizes restrictions on imports when a domestic industry is found to be seriously injured, or threatened, as a result of increased imports. Not to take one or more of these actions now would be irresponsible to our employees, their communities, our stockholders and investors, customers and suppliers and, indeed, I sincerely believe, to our country.

DONALD H. TRAUTLEIN  
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer  
Bethlehem Steel Corporation  
Bethlehem, Pa., Dec. 13, 1983

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ESSAY

# Who Is on 'Our' Side?

By William Safire

Yogi Berra, upon appointment to his second term as manager of the New York Yankees, flashed his familiar lopsided grin and waggled a finger at his friends in the press: "You guys ain't gonna get too much from me."

The Berra System of Leak Control is in the highest traditions of American jurisprudence. To prevent disclosure of information that would abet an adversary — whether the name of a starting pitcher, or time of a troop movement — the proper way is to stop the leak at the source.

That requires the people at the top to keep their mouths shut when secrecy serves the public interest. The time-tested way to do this is to hire trustworthy people, trust them, and fire them if and when trust is lost.

The opposite method, in which a leader misuses the F.B.I. or employs less formal "plumbers" to intimidate officials who engage in the necessary intercourse between government and press, or requires oaths that seek to turn public information into government property, is the way now being pursued by Mr. Reagan.

It is modeled on the British system. In Great Britain this week, a court ordered a newspaper to help reveal a source by returning a document showing how Government press agents planned to counter criticism of missile deployment. Under that same system, the British ran a war with such tight control of coverage that its navy's scandalous vulnerability to missiles was kept from public scrutiny.

President Reagan likes that system. He has adopted the view late in life that dissent borders on disloyalty; accordingly, a new requirement of "our-sidedness" is now applied to press coverage. This was first promulgated by Dean Rusk when he turned aside an embarrassing question during the Vietnam War: "I'm the Secretary of State and I'm on our side."

George Shultz took that line last week explaining why reporters were banned from our Grenadian invasion: In World War II, he said, reporters "were on our side. These days, in the adversary journalism tradition that's been developed, it seems as though the reporters are always against us. They're always seeking to report something that's going to screw things up."

In suggesting that anyone who reports information not helpful to the Administration is not on "our side," the ordinarily gutsy Secretary Shultz follows Secretary Weinberger in pandering to the most dangerous I-am-the-State instincts of his boss.

Far be it from me to seek to screw things up, but I consider myself on "our side"; so is the Secretary of State when he does not question my patriotism.

With the confused acquiescence of Attorney General William French Smith, and the fawning of his White House counsel, Fred Fielding, Mr. Reagan indulged his secrecy paranoia in a directive requiring 128,000 Federal officials to sign a paper promising to submit all future writing to a review board for the rest of their lives. History will remember National Security Decision Directive 84 as Ronald Reagan's greatest betrayal of conservative principle.

The hypocrisy at the top was exposed the other day by Stuart Taylor Jr., a New York Times reporter: Not one top Reagan official — including our fearless Attorney General and White House counsel — has signed the censorship agreement they have all had in their desks since August. The excuses mumbled are that the Congress is blocking the program, or that — get this — the censorship only applies prospectively, to new guys coming in, not to the appointees already in office. (I'm all right, Jack — it's the next fellow who will have to submit his memoirs for vetting by the political opposition.)

At his winter press conference next week, perhaps the President will be asked why he has been unwilling to set an example for his appointees by signing such a censorship document himself. As an elected official, the President is exempt, but how can he in conscience demand all his appointees do what he personally finds repugnant?

Laws and regulations that are not enforced breed disrespect for all law. Mr. Reagan has struck fear in the hearts of employees with threats that the discredited polygraph machine may be attached to any of them at any time. But in the recent three-month scurrying about looking for a White House leak on Lebanon, the F.B.I. closed its investigation without finding a culprit — and none of the high-level "suspects" were asked to submit to the nervousness-detector indignity they are so willing to inflict on subordinates.

True conservatives inside and outside the Administration — like other people on "our side" — are urged to save Mr. Reagan from himself by mailing evidence of abusive surveillance, questionable demands made on the F.B.I., wiretapping or surreptitious taping to their local right-wing columnist. By screwing things up, we can show this un-American system to be counterproductive.

Mr. Reagan's leakomania may win points with Agnewian red-meat eaters and the self-hating media, but to repeat Mr. Berra's great aphorism, "the game ain't over till it's over."

The following article was written by Gerard C. Smith, who headed the United States' delegation in the first strategic arms limitation talks, which resulted in the SALT I agreement; Paul C. Warnke, who headed the SALT II delegation; and John B. Rhinelander, legal advisor to the SALT I delegation. All are members of the Arms Control Association's board of directors.

WASHINGTON — Never in the history of the talks on the control of nuclear arms has so much official activity been accompanied by so little substantive achievement. Nonetheless, if public posturing by the two sides is dropped, agreements limiting both strategic and intermediate-range nuclear forces may still be possible before the end of 1984. But this will require serious proposals, new negotiating approaches and a commitment by both sides greater than that so far demonstrated. A number of avenues, which are evident to us as negotiators, are possible.

After two years of proposals and counter-proposals passing each other like ships in the night, the talks in Geneva dealing with intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe collapsed when the Soviet Union withdrew Nov. 23. In addition, on leaving the negotiations on strategic arms, the Soviet delegation refused to set a resumption date. So far, progress in both areas has been illusory.

It is no secret that relations between the two countries have deteriorated to their lowest level since the Cuban missile crisis in 1962. Distrust is pervasive and rhetoric sharp. The combination of Western condemnation of the Soviet Union following the downing of the South Korean airliner with the loss of 269 lives and the initiation of North Atlantic Treaty Organization missile deployments may well have led the Kremlin to conclude that agreement with the Reagan Administration is improbable. Uncertainty surrounding the health and political authority of Yuri V. Andropov has thrown into considerable doubt the Kremlin's ability to respond even if it thought the Administration was serious about negotiations.

## Proposals to Revive Nuclear-Arms Talks

We accept President Reagan's professed desire for a meaningful agreement with Moscow but doubt that he understands what significant adjustments would be required on both sides. Nor is it clear that the Administration has correctly assessed the implications of the failures at the intermediate-range missile and strategic arms talks. Contrary to the Administration's rationale, the continuing deployment of cruise and Pershing 2 missiles will not improve deterrence in Europe and will weaken the cohesion of NATO. At a minimum, the Russians can be expected to continue to add SS-20 missiles in European Russia; modernize shorter-range ballistic missiles in Eastern Europe and station new types of "10-minute" missiles off the coasts of the United

States. Reaction and counter-reaction by both sides will not increase the security of either.

America has not ratified any agreement on controls of strategic weapons for more than 10 years. Two test ban treaties have been negotiated, yet remain unratified, as does SALT II. The Administration has withdrawn from the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty negotiations and has not responded to Soviet attempts to reopen talks to ban anti-satellite weapons. Meanwhile, President Reagan's enthusiasm for "star wars" schemes threatens to undermine the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, the most significant arms agreement yet achieved.

Unless a breakthrough in the strategic arms talks is reached soon, both sides stand in grave danger of losing the significant military, economic and psychological benefits of the decade and a half SALT process, and of incurring immeasurable costs of a completely unconstrained arms competition.

What is needed to reverse this ominous trend? The United States and the Soviet Union should accept the reality that intermediate- and long-range nuclear systems, which have been the subjects of separate sets of talks, should be negotiated as a single package. Such an approach could resolve the intractable dilemma of the British and French nuclear systems, allowing trade-offs involving the superpowers' systems that would bridge the artificial distinctions between intermediate-range and other strategic

### Appoint a special representative to deal directly in Moscow

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More importantly, American and Soviet proposals must directly address the basic concerns of the other side. The Soviet Union, in the Start talks, has failed to indicate any willingness to negotiate reductions in its very large SS-18 intercontinental ballistic missiles. All of the Reagan Administration's Start proposals, including the so-called build-down, would require drastic reductions in Soviet land-based missiles without limiting the proposed deployment of the MX and Trident II. America has yet to make a proposal that would sig-

nificantly restrict bombers or cruise missiles — two areas of American advantage and Soviet concern. Arms control is not a favor we grant to Moscow; the results of an agreement must be in the interests of both sides.

The United States should adopt a negotiating approach aimed at achieving step-by-step results. Whatever the merits of the Administration's strategic arms and "build-down" formulas, they represent a radical shift from the accepted SALT framework. Experience teaches that negotiations with the Russians can proceed only if limitations accepted at one stage serve as the basis for stricter constraints at the next. At the strategic arms talks, the Soviet Union has put forward a proposal, based on the SALT II treaty framework, that would generate reductions below the SALT II ceilings. Although the proposal is not acceptable in its present form, Washington should challenge the Soviet leaders to expand on their offer and should be prepared to accept restrictions on cruise missiles, bombers and submarines in return for deeper cuts in land-based I.C.B.M.'s.

In order to overcome the deep-seated suspicion and inertia that now beset both negotiating arenas in Geneva, a highly qualified special negotiator, enjoying President Reagan's full political support, should carry the search for agreement directly to Moscow. One candidate would be Melvin R. Laird, former Representative from Wisconsin and later Secretary of Defense under President Richard M. Nixon.

We recall that after years of frustrating talks, in 1963 the Limited Test Ban Treaty was negotiated by Averell Harriman after 13 days in Moscow. It has been our experience that the achievement of arms control agreements is not just a matter of satisfying military and technological imperatives; it requires political decisions and commitments at the highest level of Government. With skill, zeal and the proper negotiator, Governor Harriman's 13 days in Moscow could be repeated — and a durable arms agreement negotiated.

## WASHINGTON

# Christmas In the Capital

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, Dec. 17 — The holiday season is a little more festive this year than last in most places in America, but along the Potomac, there is a difference.

If anything, the Federal city is more beautiful than ever. Its glittering stores and eager shopping crowds proclaim the recovering economy. Its monuments to Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln and Lee, with their subdued lighting, remind us, just when we need it, of our ideals and where we came from.

And on the two hills that dominate the capital city, there is to the east the blazing dome of the political Congress, and on the western hill the Washington Cathedral, reminding us of our spiritual heritage, with the voices of its children singing the ancient Christmas anthems of peace and joy.

But down in the valley, where the Potomac runs, there are shadows on the lovely walls. There are mechanical barriers at the gates of the President's house. At the entrances to the State Department in Foggy Bottom, there are large cement highway blocks, like vast tombs, erected there apparently in the belief that terrorists in their bomb-trucks would prefer to go into the front door. Even missiles are mounted around the White House to intercept wayward planes that might come over the central city.

All this is new. Across the river at the Pentagon, with its five rings and underground tunnels to take its 23,000 employees back and forth comfortably to work every day, they are now shutting off the tunnels in case some wayward terrorist bomb-truck blows the place up.

And they're right to be careful — after all, somebody exploded a bomb in the Capitol recently — but there is a paradox. Here we are with more military power than ever existed any place on earth, sending our Marines into a bunker in the Beirut Airport and our Navy into the Caribbean and the eastern Mediterranean in the name of security, and we find that all our nuclear weapons and battleship guns don't bring security to Lebanon or Central America, or even to the White House or the Pentagon.

It's an odd Christmas here for other reasons. The poor and the hungry we have always with us. They are an expensive responsibility and the cost has to be addressed in the Federal budget next spring. But Ed Meese should've known that it's not the sort of thing you can dramatize at Christmas, which is a time for pity and compassion.

Yet at this Christmas time, despite the growing fear of terrorism, there are some hopeful signs. In recent weeks, President Reagan has toned down his belligerent rhetoric about the "evil Soviet empire" that he once insisted was destined for the "ash-heap of history."

In his conversations with Prime Minister Trudeau of Canada here the other day, he agreed with a NATO Declaration of Brussels that the time had come to stop the violent rhetoric of the past and offer the Russians the possibility of reconciliation, and wait for a Soviet response.

So far, there has been no response from Moscow. Whoever is in charge there — and nobody here knows if anybody is in charge — the Soviet reaction has been to break off the arms talks in both Geneva and Vienna. But there will be a meeting in Stockholm in January to discuss the present stalemate, and officials here are waiting to see whether the Russians will attend.

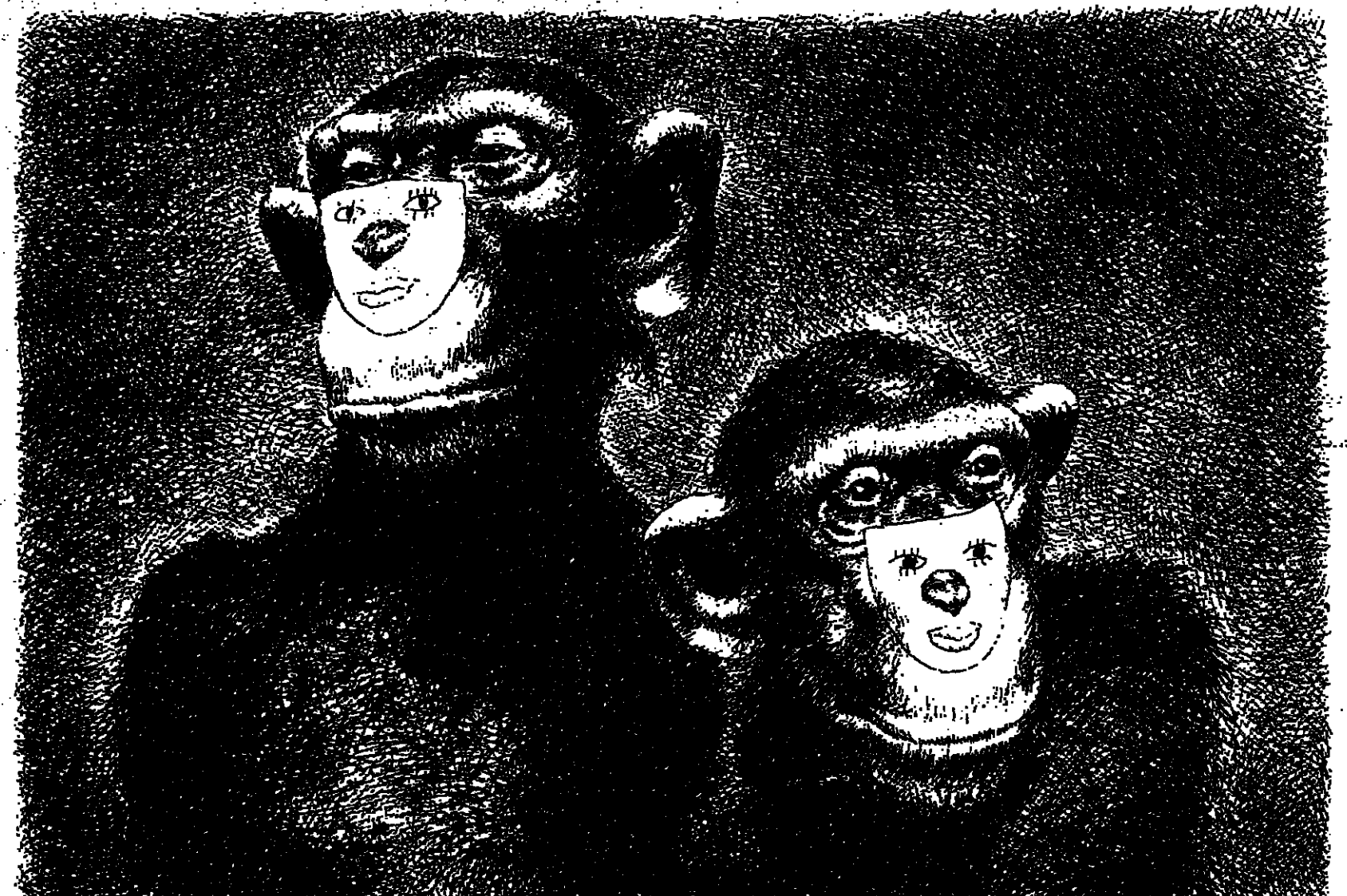
The NATO Brussels Declaration was in a way a kind of Christmas peace offering to the Russians. It said:

"Rejecting any spirit of confrontation, the allies reaffirm their determination to develop contacts and cooperation with the Warsaw Pact countries on the basis of mutual interest. While maintaining a firm and realistic attitude, the allies would welcome any serious proposal aimed at restoring confidence between East and West."

So far there has been no serious proposal from the other side — only a break or suspension of arms negotiations — but at least there has been a change in the tone and subject in the West from propaganda over missiles to an offer of discussion of wider issues of trade and how to avoid a serious confrontation over the rise of terrorism and a confrontation between the U.S. and the Soviet Union in Lebanon and the Persian Gulf.

What we hear very little about this year in Washington is the Christmas story of peace and good will. In the rest of this country maybe Christmas is as joyful as ever, but Washington is preoccupied by the vicious politics of the world. It's not hungry, Ed Meese says. It's very rich and very powerful, as Cappy Weinberger says, but behind its new cement barriers, no matter what Ronald Reagan says, Washington is not a very happy city this Christmas.

For all its weapons, there is no security, and for all its promises, there is no peace. The only thing they have forgotten around here is the Christmas story of pity and hope. But it will work out somehow. In Washington we are too involved in the tangled politics of the world. But elsewhere in the country the American people are probably more detached and more sensible.



Brad Holland

Last September, the Philippine opposition leader Benigno S. Aquino Jr. returned to Manila from self-imposed exile in the United States and was shot to death on the airport tarmac as he descended from the plane. Before he left, he spoke for several hours with Spencer A. Sherman, a reporter for United Press International, about the choices facing President Ferdinand E. Marcos. This article is adapted from a longer interview in the current issue of Mother Jones magazine.

Question. What is going to happen in the Philippines in the future?

Answer. One scenario will be similar to what is now happening in El Salvador. Marcos will continue to plod along, which is O.K. with the Communists. The Communists love Marcos. He's the best thing that ever happened to them. From having 500 men under arms before martial law, they now have 17,000 — and they're expanding.

What will happen in the Philippines when Marcos goes? Let's say he drops dead tomorrow. I think he has been able to set up a situation in which his wife will take over. All the contending forces will yield to Imelda for one reason: They know that, divided, they may fail. Immediately, the corruption will increase. Everybody will feather his nest. Then the military will take over, just as in Argentina. They will say, "Imelda, we've given you your chance." But they will have made sure that she would fail. The military will make her the scapegoat and then will come in as the great savior of the republic — an authoritarian military regime.

At this juncture, the Americans will have lost their maneuverability. If they withdraw support from the military, the Communists will take over. If they continue to support the military, they will eventually have a confrontation between a U.S.-backed Philippine military and the Communists. The U.S. becomes a partner in the suppression of an internal rebellion, exactly as it is in El Salvador.

The second scenario is armed revolution. Storm the palace, kick Marcos

## Aquino, on the Future Of the Philippines

out: the Cuban, Nicaraguan model.

The third possibility is to negotiate a rational, peaceful transition with Marcos, hoping that he is patriotic enough to realize the time has come to return democracy to his people. Now that's a long shot, a very long shot. But I submit that it should be the direction of the moderate opposition. Why? Because our other choice would be to go along with the armed struggle — and, as Mao Zedong said, if you are not willing to use a gun when you draw it, don't enter into revolution. On that path, we moderates are amateurs compared to the Communists. You end up bedding with them, and then in the end — like Nicaragua — they take over.

Q. Will Marcos negotiate?

A. Only out of fear — only under

A. It's hatred among the radicals. But disappointment moving toward hatred among the moderates.

Q. Is Uncle Sam listening to the plight of the Filipinos?

A. Nope. That's the sad part. Until the Philippines is burning, we're not going to catch Reagan's attention.

Now, you may ask: "Are you trying to tell me that America should interfere in your country?" But I'll tell you, you are interfering. You're giving Marcos \$500 million a year in military and economic aid. You're giving him helicopters. You're giving him guns. You bring him here and toast him with bugles. You've legitimized him in the eyes of the world. You've even legitimized him in the eyes of our people. You do not realize that just by being a superpower, whether

proving his human rights so that other international creditors will lend to him. When you take the totality of all this, America carries a huge club.

Q. How should we use it?

A. If I were Reagan, I would go to Marcos and tell him: "Ferdie, we like you. You're a staunch friend of America. But we think, for your own good, for the good of your people, for the good of the alliance, for the good of the free world, for the good of the region, you have to liberalize. You've got to bring back freedom."

Q. Isn't that a risky course for the Reagan Administration?

A. Sure. The Americans are afraid that if Marcos starts falling, there may not be a safety net below. They allowed the delegitimization of the Shah and they got the mad Ayatollah. They allowed the delegitimization of Somoza and they got the Sandinistas. So they are very cautious. They say: "What if we destabilize Marcos, and he hits bottom. Where are we?"

Q. What is America's leverage?

A. Marcos owes \$18 billion, mostly Wall Street loans. He has to roll over these loans annually. He wants \$2 billion, spread out over five years, for the American military bases in the Philippines. He already got \$500 million. He wants loans from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. He wants the State Department to tell the world that he's im-

### To U.S.: 'All I'm asking is, if you must interfere, interfere for good, not evil'

tremendous pressure. If the moderate opposition went to him now and asked him to negotiate, he'd say, "Why should I negotiate with you? Who are you?" But if we bring in the United States, he might sit down.

It is my contention that where Americans have no leverage, it is foolish to intervene. You are bound to fail. You would be the laughingstock of the world, for example, if you tried to get the Russians out of Afghanistan. So long as you're not ready to unleash the pukes, they'll say, "Balance. You have no leverage." But when America has leverage and does not use it to further democracy, then America is as guilty as the dictator.

Q. What is the mood of the Philippines toward the United States?

You like it or not, America is intervening in the lives of everybody. Even by your inaction you're intervening.

You've been interfering in the Philippines from the turn of the century. All I'm asking is, if you must interfere, interfere for good, not evil. Help us bring back freedom of the press. Help bring back free elections.

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# Acting's New Breed: Commuters Between the Stage and Screen

By SAMUEL G. FREEDMAN

There is a scene in the play "Once in a Lifetime" in which a Hollywood actress asks, "What the hell is the legitimate stage?" The answer comes, "It's what Al Jolson used to be on before he got famous in pictures."

For actors, the love-hate relationship between Broadway and Hollywood has grown only more complicated since George S. Kaufman and Moss Hart lobbied their darts westward in 1930. Working in film and television can mean salaries up to 100 times greater than those for starring on stage. An actor can reach as many people in one night, on celluloid or a picture tube, as he can in several years with a sold-out play. Yet the myth has persisted among stage actors that going to Hollywood has meant "going Hollywood" — trading substance for glitz, and losing one's professional integrity and skill in the bargain.

But the Hollywood myth is being rewritten, or at least reconsidered. For a generation of actors brought up on the mystique of film and television, and amid a decline in commercial theater, Hollywood is no longer synonymous with compromise, and the stage, however respected, is no longer a career end in itself. The problem for many actors now is not making an either-or choice but balancing work in all three arenas. Many of these actors — Richard Thomas, Amy Irving, and the brothers Randy and Dennis Quaid, to name several — became attractive names in the theater by establishing themselves in film and television. Others, such as Kevin Kline, Mandy Patinkin, Meryl Streep and Glenn Close, made their reputations on stage, but were then summoned to the screen.

All these actors now move regularly from medium to medium and back again. Such an artistic commute often calls for changes in technique, and while the transition occasionally inspires fear it also can force an actor to hone different skills and become more flexible. Many actors continue to express ambivalence about film — the medium itself and the pampered life bestowed on its stars — but rarely to the point of turning down a meaty part.

Theater purists would say this entails a loss: the complete and dedicated stage actor is becoming a rarity. And it is true that this generation of actors does not much resemble Alfred Lunt and Lynn Fontanne, who, in 37 years of acting together, made but a handful of films. But, more to the point, neither have the young actors modeled themselves on their immediate seniors — Marlon Brando, Paul Newman, Faye Dunaway, Barbra Streisand, Robert Redford — performers who were drawn to Hollywood by the force of financial or artistic gravity and rarely, if ever, returned to the theater.

The role model for today's actors might be Al Pacino, who is playing "American Buffalo" for little more than the Broadway salary of \$810 a week even as he stars in the multimillion-dollar movie "Scarface." And there is the example of British actors, who, with both the movie and theater industries based in London, have long been known for working in both fields, sometimes filming by day and playing on stage by night. Whatever the analogy, the watchwords for the young American actors are eclecticism and choice.

"I made a conscious decision a long time ago," said Mr. Patinkin, "to try to do both film and theater. They are equal desires. I just want the most interesting work I can find. And I've planned my life carefully in a financial way to have that freedom. I have never bought a place in the country. I rent my apartment instead of owning it. I've set myself up so that I'll never have to take a job just to meet my monthly 'nut.' I saw too many actors get hot, get rich, buy a house and a car and before they know it owe \$5,000 or \$6,000 a month. So you end up taking work just for the money."

Mr. Patinkin has been true to his vision. He came to the attention of the film industry through his role as Che in "Evita." But after working in three large movies — "Ragtime," "Daniel" and "Yentl" — he joined an Off Broadway workshop production of the Stephen Sondheim-James Lapine musical "Sunday in the Park With George." (The production now is bound for Broadway.) His peers' stories are similar. Immediately after making "Sophie's Choice" and "The Big Chill," two films that



Glenn Close, left, in "The Real Thing," due next month on Broadway; and on film in "The World According to Garp."



Kevin Kline, left, as Shakespeare's Richard III and, below, in the Lawrence Kasdan movie "The Big Chill"



Photographs by Martha Swape Associates

would broaden his appeal immensely, Mr. Kline opted for the much narrower arena of playing Shakespeare's "Richard III" in Central Park. Miss Close, after making several films ("The World According to Garp," "The Big Chill" and two others yet to be released) and a television movie, took the female lead in Tom Stoppard's "Real Thing," which will open on Broadway in January.

"There's more and more crossover all the time," said Mr. Thomas, who regularly migrates from theater to television to film. "If you allow the deciding factor to be the material, you have to work in all three areas. When I'm done with a television job, I want to do a play. But when I leave the play, I long for a camera, for getting up at 5, being on location. I want to do it all. That's selfish, but I love it."

For most of these actors, the attraction of television and film began in childhood, long before most knew of the theater. Miss Close was raised in Greenwich, Conn., less than an hour from Broadway, but remembers going to New York only "for the circus, the 'Nutcracker' and to have our eyes examined." Mr. Kline said, "I really didn't know about theater until I was in it." The early inspirations for actors ranged from "Wuthering Heights" and "The Horse's Mouth" for Mr. Kline to "Days of Wine and

Roses" for Dennis Quaid to, unlikely as it may seem, "The Three Stooges" for Mandy Patinkin. "I was a TV baby, so I loved them," he said. "Until my parents stopped me from watching because I would practice their comedy gags on my sister."

Among the exceptions are Mr. Thomas and Miss Irving, both of whom grew up in theatrical families and

## Arts & Leisure

began acting as youngsters. But ironically, they ultimately became more entrenched in Hollywood than did many of the actors weaned on film. Mr. Thomas spent five years as John-Boy in "The Waltons" and Miss Irving made five films in five years, a choice she seems now to regret. "I don't know what went wrong," she said. "It was Los Angeles. When I was auditioning for 'Romeo and Juliet,' everyone else was auditioning for 'Starsky and Hutch.' I got caught up in it."

The work in Hollywood, while bringing practical benefits and even strengthening some acting skills, less others atrophy. For both Miss Irving and Mr. Thomas, the return to the theater was jarring and technically difficult.

"When I was auditioning for 'Amadeus,'" Miss Irving said of the play that brought her to Broadway, "I was so scared. I thought, who am I to think I can do this after being offstage for five years? My agent had to force me to get on the plane to come to New York for the audition. When I read, I was nervous, shaking away. But the moment I knew I'd done the right thing was when I got into my dressing room and felt more at home than I'd felt in any of my homes in five years."

Mr. Thomas remembered the jolt when he joined the cast of Shaw's "Saint Joan," his first theater part since going to Hollywood as a 17-year-old. "When I was on that stage, I realized, 'My God, I'm on a stage,'" he said. "I mean, my name was on a marquee and I didn't want to have feet of clay. I realized my theater technique had been left five years behind. I found myself having to do a lot of catching up. I had learned what it is to sustain your energy in front of a camera. But the stamina to play a lead role on stage every night is a different thing."

While film acting may not be the ideal preparation for the stage, the problems of the transition run the other way, too. The technical muscles developed in the theater do not always come into use when the "audience" is a camera and microphone. The challenges of making a film only begin with the waiting between takes. There is generally less rehearsal for a film than for a play. While a stage performance proceeds from beginning to end, a film performance is shot out of order over weeks or months and reassembled later. What is admirable projection by an actor in a theater can seem overwrought in the intimate eye of a camera. As Miss Streep put it, a close-up can fill an entire screen with a relentlessly observed face.

"I used to hate the movies," said Miss Streep, whose view has mellowed with performances in "Sophie's Choice" and most recently "Silkwood." "Well, not hate. But I didn't understand how people did it. I didn't feel satisfied at the end of the day, like I felt after a play — like I deserved a beer. Now I've learned to enjoy it, and to have my enjoyment delayed. You make a film and no one will laugh at the jokes because it'll end up on the soundtrack. You want to be funny, but you can't hear the laughs. So you have the crew sucking on their fists to keep from breaking up."

Miss Close found herself thrown by the absence of an audience and by the jumbled order of shooting sequences. When she was making "The World According to Garp," she watched the "rushes" from each day's footage to try to learn the new medium.

## 'Seberg' and the London Stage

By MICHAEL BILLINGTON

NEW LONDON musicals are often plagued by misfortune; and Sir Peter Hall's National Theater production of "Jean Seberg" — composed by Marvin Hamlisch with lyrics by Christopher Adler and book by Julian Barry — has been no exception. The original choreographer was fired; two of the stars suffered ankle injuries (at one point, the show was dubbed "Ankles Aweigh") and one of them had to be replaced, leading to a delayed opening; there were objections to the National being used as a launching pad for a new American musical; and rumors spread around

London that the show was a disaster.

"Jean Seberg," however, is emphatically not a disaster; but neither is it a total artistic success. It emerges as tenuous biography with epic pretensions. In the space of two hours, without intermission, it tells the not-unfamiliar story of how Miss Seberg was transformed from a small-town Iowa girl into a 17-year-old movie star by the Otto Preminger film, "Saint Joan," how she became the darling of the French New Wave through "Breathless" and an ardent supporter of the Black Panthers and how, after being systematically discredited by the F.B.I., she was found dead in a car in Paris in 1979. She had been there ten days without being missed.

It is a sad and pathetic story. But

Mr. Adler (who had the original idea) and Mr. Barry have unpersuasively tried to elevate Jean Seberg into a symbolic American martyr and a victim of the star-manufacturing process. Even more dubiously, they draw a direct parallel between poor Jean Seberg and Saint Joan. The show opens with Otto Preminger directing the Shavian trial-scene in a Paris studio supervised by a black-cowled inquisitor who turns out to be J. Edgar Hoover ("Maybe you're here to shoot 'Saint Joan' but I'm here to try Jean Seberg"), and the climax is the public burning of the Jean/Joan heroine. But it seems somewhat pretentious to equate Shaw's sturdy, rustic visionary with an idealistic minor actress driven to suicide by an ailing career and carefully planted rumors that she had been impregnated by a Black Panther.

The London critics nearly all prefaced their notices by saying that the show was not the expected fiasco. But John Barber in The Daily Telegraph summed up the majority view when he said "this is a very big musical for someone who seems to have been a very small girl." There has, however, been widespread praise for Peter Hall's fast, adroit production set by John Bury against a bisected Paris apartment-block and a circular screen boasting some beautiful back-projections.

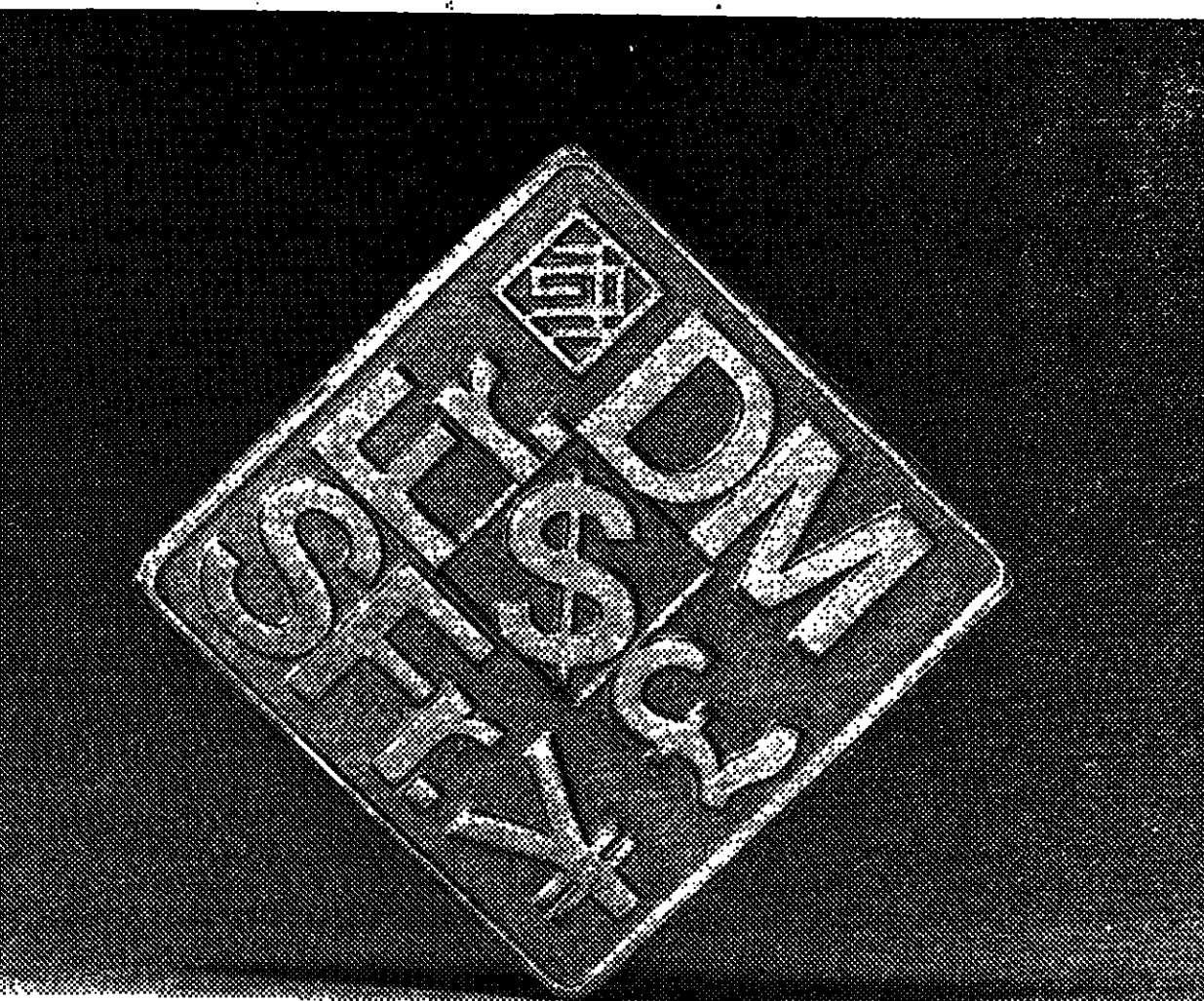
Opinion is divided about the score — Milton Shulman in The Standard compared the melodies to "penny whistles at a state funeral" while Robert Cushman in The Observer declared that "Marvin Hamlisch's score is the best he has written for the theater." The two actresses (Kelly Hunter and Elizabeth Counsell) who play the younger and older Jean Seberg have been much commended. One comes out of the National feeling one has seen a mild disappointment rather than a disgrace. Whether "Jean Seberg" makes it to New York (where over \$4 million has been raised for its proposed run) in its present form remains a tantalizingly open question.

Michael Billington writes frequently about British theater.



John Savident and Elizabeth Counsell in the musical "Jean Seberg" at London's National Theater.

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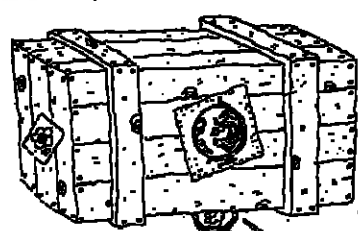
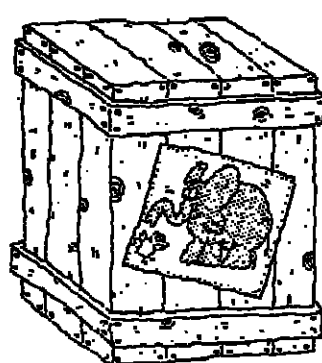
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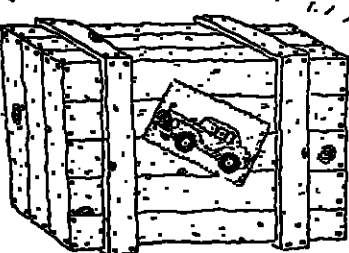
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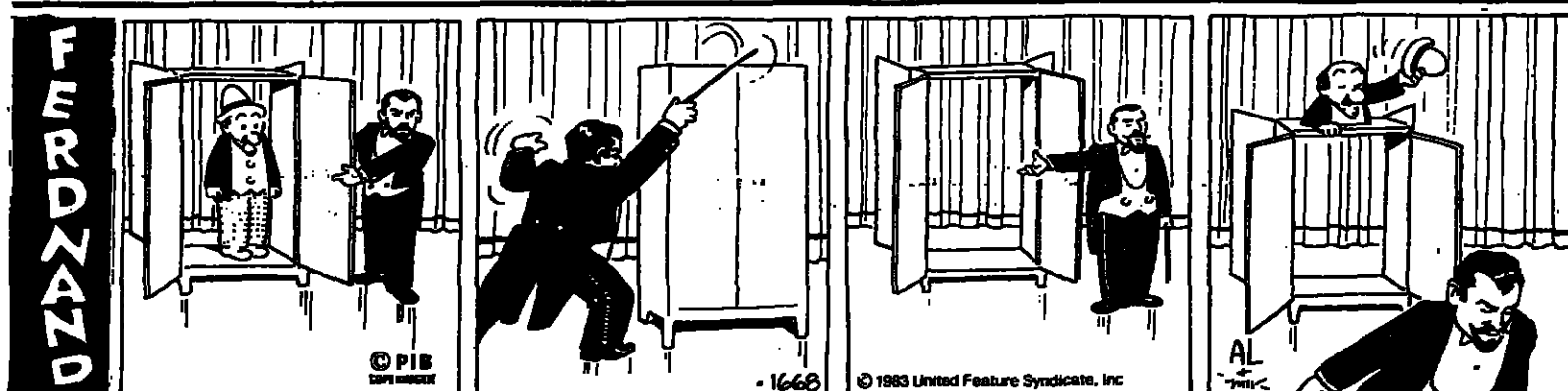
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MUSEUMS  
Israel Museum. Exhibitions: Ori Reisman, Paintings; Gabi Klammer, Paintings; Tom Seidmann, Illustrations of children's books; Scarp, creating home theatre sets and

greeting cards; Memphis Milano, furniture and accessories; Michael Druks, photographic situations; David Bomberg in Palestine; Monty Oppenheim, first Jewish painter; Tip of the Iceberg No. 2; Permanent Collection of Judaica, Art, Archaeology and Contemporary Israeli Art; Rockefeller Museum: Kadesh Barnea, Judean Kingdom fortress; How to Study the Past for children, Paley Centre, Closed Saturdays.

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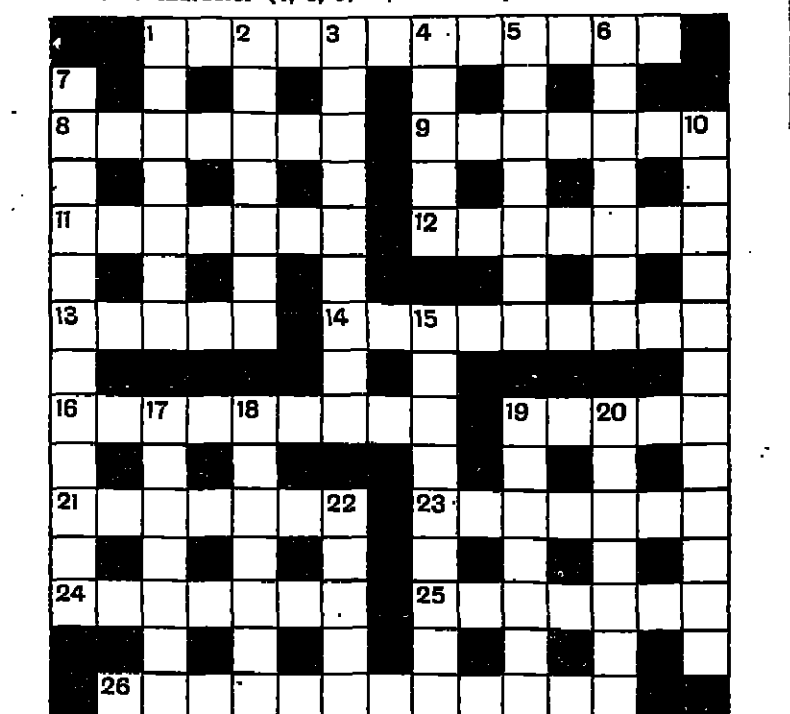
Micha Kirshner, photographs; Zvi Goldstein, Structure and Superstructure (Helena Rubinstein Pavilion); Classical Painting in 17th and 18th centuries; Impressionism and Post-Impressionism; Twentieth Century Art; Israeli Art. Visiting Hours: Sun-Thur. 10-10. Fri. closed. Sat. 10-2; 7-10. Helena Rubinstein Pavilion: Sun-Thur. 9-1; 5-9. Fri. closed. Sat. 10-2.

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## ONE-AND-ONE CROSSWORD

- ACROSS**
- Whereat firm policy is pronounced when the audience might drop off (5, 7)
  - Die once newly developed drug is found (7)
  - Odd tube shape is subject to scepticism (7)
  - Bible book most studied by mathematicians (7)
  - Compensate for audity (7)
  - Council saying evil is peculiar? (5)
  - Diana Short shouted wildly when carelessly served (6, 3)
  - Put on airs if disturbed and dazed (2, 1, 6)
  - Beg to be allowed to watch late television programme? (3, 2)
  - Double sheet handling proposal by helpful husband? (3, 4)
  - Amiazo acid causing vigour to rise and fall in the main (7)
  - Artist has to copy the hurly burly of modern life (3, 4)
  - Conjure up image in between four and five (7)
  - Highly valued antique of lovable character (4, 3, 5)
- DOWN**
- Abdomen disorder is not a good sign (3, 4)
  - Successfully look in and discern a flavour (7)
  - In line for sartorial recognition (7, 2)
  - The nature of Spanish and German articles (5)
  - Wheel out a Pickwickian character (7)
  - Western alliance surrounding the border. Never the more needed (7)
  - He moves around fresh cine set (5, 7)
  - Chase top side in order to make a smash hit (4, 2, 6)
  - Sounds as though the argument was acknowledged, even though a contentious subject (4, 5)
  - A man of letters in the drink (7)
  - Marry, but 'tis a fair hand at poker (3, 4)
  - Arrangement for pianos including the right singers (7)
  - Following the trade of a docker? (7)
  - Old copper fit enough to take up residence (5)



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- Initiator
  - Measure mass
  - Common soldiery
  - 9 Harbour
  - 10 Oriental
- DOWN**
- 12 Flower garland
  - 13 Peetage
  - 14 Become visible
  - 17 Speak falsely
  - 18 Table napkin
  - 20 Tiring
  - 21 Higher than
  - 22 Alpine region
  - 24 Gave way
- DOWN**
- 1 Stuffing
  - 2 Large vase
  - 3 See
  - 4 Soften attitude
  - 5 Bet
  - 6 Intelligence
  - 7 Hare bound
  - 11 Admit defeat
  - 13 Road foundation
  - 15 Personal
  - 16 Impudent
  - 18 Small seat
  - 19 Remove errors
  - 22 Aged

# Money Matters

## Uncontrolled price rises outpacing inflation

By LEA LEVAVI  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Manufacturers have been taking advantage of ineffective price controls to raise prices more than inflation warrants, the newly appointed economic adviser to the prime minister charged Friday on Israel Radio's Weekly Newsreel.

Nissim Baruch said this is proved by the fact that the wholesale price index has gone up far more than the

consumer price index.

"Exporters are also demanding more government assistance than the situation warrants," he said. "We must be careful to avoid a policy which will help exporters instead of helping imports."

There will have to be drastic cuts in next year's government budget, he said, though he could not give figures. He added that there should be a long-range plan for budget cuts, as there is in the defence

budget for next year.

Asked about the political aspect of the situation, he would say that he is sure the prime minister will apprise the cabinet of urgency to make budget cuts, "problem is not just political. Lo echelon personnel can effectively thwart budget cuts if they are not convinced that the cuts are necessary and if the necessary groundwork in the field is done."

## Iranian economy grew 15% last year

TEHERAN (Reuters). — The Iranian economy grew by 15 per cent in the year 1982-1983, reversing part of the steep decline since the 1979 Islamic revolution, Prime Minister Mir-Hossein Mousavi was quoted as saying.

The national news agency Irna quoted him as saying in a message to spiritual leader Ayatollah Khomeini that Gross National Product (GNP) had risen by 15 per cent during the Iranian Islamic year 1361 (which ended March 20, 1983).

GNP fell a dramatic 16.1 per cent in the year 1980-81, the first year after the revolution, and rose only 2.3 per cent in 1981-82, according to figures published by the central bank.

A 15 per cent increase in 1982-83 means the economy has recovered considerably but has still not reached the level of activity it registered in the year before the revolution. That in itself was a period of economic decline because of strikes and other protests against the monarchy.

The 15 per cent mentioned by Mousavi contrasted with a lower figure for economic growth in 1982-83 given by the Minister of State in Charge of the Planning and Budget Organisation, Mohammed Taqi Banki, in August.

Banki said that Gross Domestic Product (GDP), a somewhat narrower measure of economic performance than GNP, rose seven per cent during the period.

Full economic statistics for 1982-83 are kept secret for security reasons because of Iran's three-year-old war with Iraq. The last year for which full figures are available was 1981-82.

## Alshech to Fiat agency

TEL AVIV. — Yosef Alshech has been appointed general manager of the Mediterranean Car Agency, importers of Fiat in Israel. The appointment is part of a reorganisation of the company.

Alshech, 47, is an economist and has held executive position with a number of companies, including El Al, the first International Bank and the Manufacturers Association.

## EVACUATION

(Continued from Page One)

Internal security police began deploying along the front line between Arafat's men and the Syrian-backed rebels in Tripoli. The security force has agreed to act as a disengagement force during the evacuation operation.

LT-Col. Abdel Karim Ghandour, commander of the internal security force, said Lebanese Army vehicles will transport the terrorists from their gathering spots across the city to the harbour during the evacuation.

"State-run Beirut Radio said the force will also supervise the release of some 170 prisoners captured during the fighting by both factions.

PLO spokesman Ahmed Abdul Rahman had earlier said all prisoners captured by Arafat's loyalists "will be released before the evacuation." He would not give their number or the date of their release.

In the city, PLO terrorists were seen shopping for radios, cassettes, watches, trousers and shirts.

"I can't decide whether it's better or worse to leave this city," said Muhammad Adel.

"I left with my fellow commandos under Israeli guns last year" during Israel's invasion of Lebanon. "But now I am leaving under Syrian and Libyan guns which once were directed at Israel and now at me and my comrades and family," he said.

PLO Lt.-Col. Mahmud Aloul said "North Yemen and Tunisia are far by distance from Palestine. But if we remain under the pressures of Syria and Libya, we will never be able to loosen their chains and continue our struggle."

"The war in Beirut was a heroic stand against the enemy. This one (Tripoli) uncovered the treason of the Arabs. I'll be glad when we're out of here," said Aloul.

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- TRIFLING CHARGE**
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Ari Ruth  
Editor and  
Managing DirectorTHE JERUSALEM  
POSTErwin Frenkel  
Editor

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Tever 13, 5744 • Rabbi Awwal 13, 1404

## Cold winds from Cairo

EGYPT'S "cold peace" with Israel seems to be growing colder. A prestigious Cairo weekly has just confirmed this by urging the ouster of Israel's ambassador, Moshe Sasson, for making that same assessment in a cable to Jerusalem.

Some of the most recent deterioration may be attributable to the strategic cooperation agreement concluded between Israel and the U.S., which Egypt has taken as an affront. But the way the agreement has been blown up by the Egyptian media, with undoubted encouragement from the authorities, suggests a deliberate attempt to find fresh justification for the freezing of Egyptian relations with Israel.

This attitude may hopefully change, now that President Hosni Mubarak has expressed "understanding" of the situation, as it was put to him yesterday by U.S. envoy Donald Rumsfeld, the explanation having been accompanied, diplomats in Cairo noted, by a promise of substantial American military assistance.

Furthermore, the freeze has not affected the Egyptian popular attitude, which according to all the evidence remains warm and hospitable. There are also contacts at the official level. Last month the Foreign Ministry's director general, David Kimche, held important discussions in Cairo which were described as friendly, and an Egyptian Foreign Ministry official may be due here shortly on a reciprocal visit — if a report in "October" magazine that he is not coming turns out to be incorrect.

But the Egyptian ambassador is still absent from his Tel Aviv post, after having been recalled "for consultations" 15 months ago. That action was ostensibly undertaken in protest against Israel's invasion of Lebanon. In fact, however, the war only served as an excuse for Egypt to carry out a policy of making an empty shell of the peace with Israel.

The blame for turning the peace into an empty shell is, of course, placed on Israel. The Egyptians claim that it was Israel which, by insisting on its one-sided interpretation of Camp David, forced the suspension of the autonomy talks. But it was Egypt that actually broke the talks off and thus removed any impediment to that Israeli interpretation being translated into facts on the ground. Now, contrary to its obligations under Camp David, Egypt is refusing to resume the talks without the Jordanians and the Palestinians also participating.

To be sure, there is no question at this time of Egypt formally scrapping its commitment under Camp David and the peace treaty. Any such action would lead to a rift with the U.S. and, President Mubarak fears — the reoccupation of Sinai by Israel. That would be reason enough for the Egyptian president to reject advice by the likes of Ismail Fahmy, the former foreign minister, that Egypt should at least declare the Palestinian provisions of Camp David void due to Israeli violations.

There is not much that this country can do to change Egypt's mind short of accepting the Egyptian position lock, stock and barrel. For, especially since the assassination of Anwar Sadat, Egypt has embarked on a course of rapprochement with the sister Arab states, at the expense of ties with Israel. Israeli complaints and American pressure on it to change course have proved unavailing.

The one thing that can be done is to prevent needless irritation from interfering with the maintenance of such "normality" as still obtains between Israel and Egypt.

Thus it will not do for the Israeli police to argue that the recent incidents of vandalism directed against the cars and homes of Egyptian diplomats are merely "part of Tel Aviv's normal crime." Even if true, it means that a special police force should be detailed to protect the Egyptians (and other diplomatic representatives, for that matter), as is done in the case of all foreign embassies in Washington, D.C.

Israelis may have become inured to it, but home-grown vandalism must on no account be a pretext for Egyptians to take umbrage. Nor should it be an argument for Israeli inaction that a petrol bomb was hurled at a car parked outside the Israeli consulate in Alexandria last Thursday. The safety of diplomatic personnel is the first condition of peaceful relations.

## Only a truce

THE LAST-MINUTE deal worked out between the Treasury and the Council for Higher Education last week to keep the universities open, has resolved less than would appear at first glance. What was billed as a "compromise" is actually more of a truce that will enable the parties to continue their previous sparring over the university budgets in a more temperate atmosphere.

The Treasury did provide the \$55 billion needed to keep the universities open, but much of that sum will have to go right back to the Treasury to make up for income tax payments not transferred during the past few months. Moreover, the money is supposed to cover only expenses budgeted for this year, which still leaves the universities owing hundreds of millions of shekels in interest payments for the bank loans they were forced to take out earlier.

Thus the universities' financial situation at present is anything but rosy, and in the months ahead they will face the general problem of how to cover fixed expenses with shekels rapidly eroding in value.

The Treasury seems to have squeezed out a commitment from the Council for Higher Education to slash 8 per cent from next year's academic budget. This may not be as bad as it sounds, given that the financial chaos of this year prevented the universities from implementing the 6 per cent cut that they had promised to make last April. The final cut may thus be between 6 and 8 per cent spread over two years, which may be hard to swallow but not fatal.

Not even that much may be put through if the interested parties now flexing their muscles succeed in blocking further cuts. In trying to implement its part of the bargain with the Treasury, the council now faces the organized opposition of students, who oppose tuition fee increases; professors, who oppose yielding any part of the well-deserved pay increases won after a three-year battle; and the technical and administrative staff, who have vowed to resist dismissals of tenured workers.

Far from having receded from the headlines, the many-sided conflict over the university budgets is bound to re-emerge in the months ahead.

KEEP ISRAEL  
BEAUTIFUL

# TYRE DISASTER PROBE REPORT

The report of the Israel Defence Force inquiry into the Tyre military headquarters disaster of November 4, as issued last night by the IDF spokesman (unofficial translation).

1. The report of the military investigating committee on the attack in Tyre was submitted on Wednesday, 11 November 1983, to Chief of Staff Rav-Aluf Moshe Levy, and the appendices were submitted on Thursday, 24 November 1983.

2. In his letter of appointment, the chief of staff directed the committee "... to investigate the circumstances of the attack in Tyre on 4 November 1983, the security precautions determined and undertaken in the area of the attack, and the actions taken following the attack." In addition, the chief of staff ordered (the committee) "to determine facts, to draw conclusions and to make recommendations."

3. The members of the committee were Aluf (Maj.-Gen.) Amnon Reshef (chairman); Tat-Nitzav Albert Susiya, deputy commander of the Border Police; Aluf-Mishne (Col.) M.B. of the Engineering Corps; Aluf-Mishne A. L. of Military Intelligence; Sgan-Aluf (Lt.-Col.) L. B. of the Military Police; an officer of the operations branch of Military Intelligence; and a representative of the General Security Services.

4. The inquiry committee investigated the circumstances of the attack, the security arrangements at the site, the rescue operations and the medical evacuation following the attack. The committee examined the intelligence material during the period preceding the attack and the various operational orders given.

5. In the course of its work the investigating committee visited the site of the attack twice and took testimony from some 70 persons. The committee spoke with all members of the security forces, including those injured and uninjured at the scene when the attack took place — except for two persons whose medical condition made it impossible to interview them. It also spoke with seven Lebanese civilians living in a building near the scene and a Lebanese soldier from an adjacent camp.

The committee was aided by several officers with expert knowledge of the areas under investigation, as well as by Israeli police sappers. It examined the recommendations of the committee which investigated the Tyre headquarters explosion in 1982 to see whether there were lessons drawn from that incident, and if so, whether they had been implemented.

The chairman of the committee met with Aluf (res.) Meir Zorea, and together they examined the connection between the two disasters.

6. The committee notes that as a result of the explosion and the rescue operations, most of the circumstantial evidence was lost. Some of the details were reconstructed.

7. The principal findings of the committee of inquiry relate to subjects such as intelligence, the orders and actions on the various command levels — from that of the General Staff to soldiers in the field — operational awareness and alertness, the protection of the camp and the system of barriers, the storage of ammunition and fuel, the functioning of the medical apparatus, the rescue and evacuation units, the air force and others.

8. The attack by means of a boobytrapped vehicle is one of several possible methods of attacking our forces: light arms fire, bazooka fire, fire from moving vehicles, the planting of explosive charges, the planting of roadside bombs, boobytrapping cars, rifle-grenade fire and others.

The boobytrapping of parked cars represented about 4 per cent (28 instances) of all attacks carried out between September 1982 and October 1983.

9. Ever since the attack on the Multinational Peace-Keeping Force, the possibility was raised among commanders and intelligence officers at all levels of the use of a boobytrapped car to break into an IDF installation, and much concern was given to this possibility at all levels.

10. The security services' camp at Tyre, which serves the Border Police and the General Security Services, was known as a target which the terrorists intended to strike from the beginning of 1983.

11. Intelligence Branch:  
A. Since 23 October 1983 awareness and alertness were increased at all levels in everything connected to the possibility of an attack by means of a boobytrapped vehicle breaking in.

B. Steps were taken in the field to improve the situation:  
1. Briefings were held on the subject

2. A zig-zag barrier was erected  
3. The earthbanks were raised to the east of the General Security Services building

C. The quick reaction of the guards and the fact that they opened fire at the attacking vehicle at such an early stage is evidence of their alertness.

12. Protection of the camp:  
A. Defence

Earthworks which were to surround the camp had not been completed and did not protect the camp sufficiently from light weapons and bazooka fire.

B. Guard details  
1. Arrangements for posting guards at the camp were satisfactory.

2. At the time of the vehicle break-in two guards were absent from their posts.

13. Sealing the access road:

A. There was poor coordination between objectives and methods regarding orders from the General Staff and Northern Command levels.

B. In accordance with the need to admit water carriers and other trucks, the barrier was built in such a way that it did not significantly retard the speed of the vehicle that broke into the camp, and despite the fact that it was intended for the passage of a tanker truck, it could have been erected better.

C. The zig-zag barrier at the entrance to the camp was ineffective and enabled the break-in by the boobytrapped vehicle to the camp.

D. The camp gate  
1. The camp gate was always closed but was not locked.

A chain wrapped around the gate posts prevented it from being opened.

2. The camp gate was not built to withstand a vehicle from breaking in.

14. Entry of vehicles into the camp.

A) Only security services vehicles, after being identified, were permitted in the camp.

B) Lebanese vehicles were forbidden to enter the camp or to park in the vicinity.

15. Entry of Lebanese civilians:

There was control exercised on entry of civilians into the camp (following a recommendation by the Zorea committee)

16. Storage of ammunition and fuel.

A) Ammunition.

1) The ammunition which exploded in the attack was ammunition loaded on trucks and the personal ammunition of soldiers and in a number of cartons stored at the entrance to the shelter.

2) The underground shelter was situated some 20 metres distant from the living quarters. This shelter also served as an ammunition store which held a small quantity of the ammunition ready for use by the company. The ammunition exploded (with the exception of a number of crates stored at the western entrance to the shelter). In the circumstances of the camp, the storage of the ammunition was satisfactory.

B) Fuel.

Fuel for the use of the unit was kept outside the camp in accordance with orders. This store did not ignite at the time of the explosion.

17. Operational lessons from the Multinational forces. It is the opinion of the commission that an inter-corps team should have been established (with the General Staff, Intelligence, General Security Services and Engineering) to study the circumstances surrounding the terrorist attack on the Multinational Force in Beirut, parallel to the immediate actions in the field, and to solidify recommendations to be enacted by the IDF.

Medicine

18. The medical apparatus began to function immediately after the attack, gradually being reinforced.

19. About an hour after the attack there even was a surplus of medical personnel.

20. The medical apparatus functioned quickly and functioned satisfactorily.

21. Operational forces in the area began rescue and evacuation operations immediately after the attack, assisted by local Lebanese mechanical equipment.

22. The explosion of ready ammunition on a truck, the catching of fuel tankers and the great heat generated hampered the rescue the early stages.

23. All the survivors were rescued or extricated by the time the professional crews arrived at a.m.

24. The professional rescue forces were on the alert and arrived at the site earlier than had been expected and operated properly.

25. Lessons learned from the disaster of 11 Nov. 1982, properly applied.

26. Air force: The medical evacuation and the reinforcement of the rescue forces were properly executed.

27. The committee has determined that following the attacks on Multinational Peace-keeping Force there was an awareness of danger, and steps were taken to reinforce security measures to increase alertness.

28. The committee has determined that the barrier erected at entrance to the compound was effective, and as a result explosive-laden vehicle succeeded in penetrating it.

29. A barrier which would have blocked access to any such vehicle should have been erected.

30. On two matters the committee did not reach clear-cut conclusions:  
A) The role of the two guards who were not at their posts.

B) To what extent, if at all, the main gate of the compound had stopped the vehicle, had been locked.

31. The committee cited the following failures:  
A) On the part of the high command structure:

1) The directives of the General Staff to prevent entry of vehicles into the compound by placing moured vehicles at the entrance addition to earthworks were carried out.

B) On the part of the local command structure:  
1) The orders of the high command were not put into effect they should have been.

2) No professional directives given in connection with the barriers.

32. The committee of inquiry submitted a series of recommendations among which were items concerning deployment for suicide attacks, defensive security and barrier camps and ammunition dump intelligence, rescue and evacuation and command staff work.

33. The committee of inquiry submitted to the chief of staff its conclusions and recommendations thus completed its work. The committee of inquiry included its classified material given to the investigative branch of the Military Police, which authorized to investigate according to the directives of the chief prosecutor.

## READERS' LETTERS

### LOOKING AFTER NUMBER ONE

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — The vulgar luxury of the Shapira wedding is but the most visible excrement of the social ills of the country. What disheartened me was that no respected individual's voice was heard to condemn this unconscionable waste at a time of economic crisis.

There was a time when religious leaders were also moral and ethical guides. Today, they are silent amid the fleshpots, busy looking after No. 1. Judaism's crowning glory now is that in no hotel will you find a "dairy" spoon in the "meat" cutlery.

Our political and institutional leaders are living it up in luxury hotels at home and abroad while insisting that social services be cut.

The same of official *kutza* was attained when Arye Dulin travelled in luxury class to the Atlanta conference while the UJA leaders who supply his salary and unpublished expense account travelled at regular fares.

Is it any wonder that the port workers are holding the farmers hostage, that the El Al workers did the same, and that every other labour union and business group will likewise grab the public by the throat? After all, aren't they bound to take care of No. 1 first and always?

ESTHER DUKER

Jerusalem.

### ELDERHOSTEL

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — Your article about the Elderhostel programme (December 2) was both interesting and informative. It would be helpful to know an address so that we might better follow the suggestion to apprise that organization in the U.S. of our interest and even request a brochure.

PHILIP KRIEGER

Kfar Sava.

The address is: Elderhostel, 100 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass. 02116, USA — Ed. J.P.

### 'EXTRAS' MISLED

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — The review (Dec. 9) of Costa-Gavras' film *Hanna K* reports that it is anti-Zionist and anti-Israel.

If that be the case, then "extras" in the film were misinformed. On two separate occasions, we were assured by the casting crew that the script was approved by the Israeli Government.

As an immigrant and a Zionist, I regret having appeared in a film that is hurtful to Israel.

SUSAN ROITELMAN

Tel Aviv.

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## Our Apologies

We are aware of the hardship suffered by a large portion of the travelling public throughout the country this past Saturday evening when travellers were prevented from reaching their various destinations in reasonable time as in the past.

The public unjustly vented its wrath against our drivers, as we were acting in accordance with express government instructions which we were compelled to obey.

Although we are powerless to change the decision in any way, we feel the need to apologise to our clients over the bus delays on Saturday evening.

Yours

**Egged**